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BY

JOHN NORMAN HOLLISTER

B.S., M.A., Ph.D.

LONDON

LUZAC & COMPANY, LTD.

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To my Wife

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PREFACE

This study of *The Shi'a of India* was undertaken at the suggestion of Dr. Murray T. Titus when he was completing his most useful work on *Indian Islam*. He realized that the historical development of Islam in India was permeated with, and sometimes controlled by, other influences. Many of these were truly Islamic yet strangely at variance with 'orthodox' positions and their real nature was concealed. Some of the influences were assuredly Shiite, though by no means all. There was room for some one to explore the part that Shiism had played in Indian Islam.

My interest in the subject had commenced during my years as a missionary in Lucknow which is often spoken of as the Capital of Shiism in India. The study has been continued as opportunity offered alongside of other work and also during two furlough periods at Hartford, Conn., U.S.A., where it was submitted to the Faculty of the Kennedy School of Missions, Hartford Seminary Foundation, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the spring of 1940.

The account is both religious and historical. With a desire to narrow the field of study consideration was given to confining it to the Ismailis, or even to greatly condensing the chapters on the Twelve Imams and the Religion of the *Ithna 'Ashariya*, often called 'The Twelvers', and most commonly referred to as the Shias. But the nexus between this group and the *Isma'iliya* was so complete and so intimate, so interesting and so important to an understanding of other sectarian positions, as compared with each other or with the 'orthodox' position, that it seemed necessary to include these. There are other advantages also. While much has been written on the *Ithna 'Ashariya* a great deal will not be familiar or available to readers. The full account shows how very early in the development of Islam Shiism became a vital component of the new faith. In India it has been a continuous, and a very active force, in the introduction and spread of Islam. Particularly interesting have been its adjustments with Hinduism.

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PREFACE

While a wide range of authorities has been drawn on for facts the quotations have been selected, wherever possible, from Indian authors because their diction best reveals the deep, underlying attitudes and thoughts of their respective communities.

The partition of India in 1947 interrupted arrangements for earlier publication of *The Shi'a of India*. Other factors have prolonged the delay but the status of the communities depicted in this account has not been materially altered by events that have transpired since.

In the prosecution of this study I am indebted to very many for whom references in footnotes are a very imperfect expression of appreciation. Especially helpful for information and perspective for the Ismailis, have been works sponsored by the Islamic Research Association, notably those of W. Ivanow, and A. A. A. Fyzee. From many librarians, in India and in the United States, I have received most courteous assistance. I wish to express deep gratitude to Dr. W. G. Shellabear and Dr. E. E. Calverley of the Department of Islamics in the Kennedy School of Missions for patient guidance and criticism ; to Dr. Murray T. Titus for carefully reading the complete manuscript and giving helpful suggestions ; and to Dr. D. M. Donaldson and the Rev. J. W. Sweetman of the Henry Martyn School of Islamics in Aligarh, U.P., India, for help and courtesies received there.

JOHN NORMAN HOLLISTER.

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SCHEME OF TRANSLITERATION

THE scheme of transliteration followed for the Arabic letters is that used by the Royal Asiatic Society in its Bombay Branch.

ا .. a	ذ .. dh	ط .. ṭ	ل .. l
ب .. b	ر .. r	ظ .. ẓ	م .. m
ت .. t	ز .. z	ع .. '	ن .. n
ث .. th	س .. s	غ .. gh	و .. w
ج .. j	ش .. sh	ف .. f	ه .. h
ح .. ḥ	ص .. ṣ	ق .. q	ي .. y
خ .. kh	ض .. ḍ	ك .. k	ء .. '
د .. d			

No marking has been given to words recognized in common usage, or to words that have been Anglicized in form, as for example : Shiite, dais, khalifas, and mutazilism ; nor usually in quotations and references.

The word Shia is used in the singular for an individual in preference to Shi'i or Shiite ; Shias as the plural when members of the Ithnā 'Asharīya or Twelvers are intended ; and Shi'a for Shiite groups such as the Ismā'īlīya *and* Ithnā 'Asharīya.

In all quotations, the spelling is that of the author quoted.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN REFERENCES

BHCR - -	Bombay High Court Reports.
Biog. Dict. -	Biographical Dictionary of Ibn Khallikan, Tr. by de Slane.
BLR - -	Bombay Law Reporter.
Bom. Gaz. -	Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. IX, Pt. 2, F. L. Faridi.
BSOS - -	Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies.
Bul. H.M.S. -	Bulletin of the Henry Martyn School of Islamics.
CIR - -	Census of India Reports.
Dict. Is. - -	A Dictionary of Islam, T. P. Hughes.
E & D - -	Elliott, H. M., and Dowson, J., The History of India.
ERE - -	Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics.
EI - - -	Encyclopædia of Islam.
Glossary -	A Glossary of Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and N.W.F. Province, Vol. I, H. A. Rose.
Guide - -	A Guide to Ismaili Literature, W. Ivanow.
IGI - -	Imperial Gazetteer of India.
Ind. Wit. -	The Indian Witness.
Is. Cul. - -	Islamic Culture.
Is. Rev. - -	Islamic Review.
JA - - -	Journal Asiatique
JASB - -	Journal of the Asiatic Society, Bengal.
JAOS - -	Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JBBRAS -	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JRAS - -	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.
Lit. Hist. -	A Literary History of Persia, E. G. Browne.
Mos. W. - -	Moslem World.
Mus. Rev. -	The Muslim Review.
N & N - -	News and Notes: A Monthly Paper for Private Circulation.
Or. Biog. Dict.	Oriental Biographical Dictionary, T. W. Beale.
RMM - -	Revue du Monde Musulman.
T & C Bombay	Tribes and Castes of Bombay, R. E. Enthoven.
T & C C.P. -	Tribes and Castes of Central Provinces, R. V. Russell.
T & C Punjab -	Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and N.W.F. Provinces, H. A. Rose.

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CHAPTER I

Sects in Islam and the Rise of Shiism

Some years ago, at the Muslim Book Society in Lahore, I was given a book entitled *Islam men koi Firqe nahin*, that is, 'There are No Sects in Islam.' The author, Khwāja Kamāl al dīn, supports his claim by insisting that sects in any religion must differ in their basic beliefs, whereas the so-called sects of Islam agree in accepting all the essential truths, the beliefs which accepted make one a Muslim, and rejected exclude him from Islam. He insists that the term sect, *firqa*, cannot apply to any group in Islam for they differ in non-essentials only. Other writers, and many speakers, stress the unity of Islam, making light of the schisms that have marked its history. To do so is wishful thinking, contradicted by the history of thirteen centuries. Outstanding treatises on the Islamic sects have been written by Muslim theologians of the Sunni or orthodox school. The intense persecution of sects by Sunni rulers, who treated them as a " race of heretics that were worse than infidels " even selling Shias " like beasts in the market place "[1] as slaves, is recorded by historians ; and innumerable instances bear witness that the unity claimed has never been realized.

A few of the recognized authorities on the sects of Islam are : *Kitāb Firāq al Shī'a* by Al Naubakhtī ; *Al Farq bain al Firāq* by al Baghdādī ; *Kitāb al Milāl wa'l Nihāl* by Ibn Ḥazm and another of the same name by Al Shahrastānī ; *Dābistān al Madhāhib* by Moḥsin Fāni ; *Madhāhib al Islam* by Muḥammad Najm al Ghanī Khān, and *Tabsirāt al 'Awāmm* by Sayyid Murtaḍa.

A tradition referred to by most of them, but not included in the collections of Bukhārī and Muslim, is given in two forms by Al Baghdādī with its *isnād* or chain of references. It quotes the Prophet as saying :

> The Jews are divided into 71 sects, and the Christians are divided into 72 sects, and my people will be divided into 73 sects.

[1] Malcolm, Sir J., The History of Persia, Rev. Ed., 1929, Vol. I, p. 140 ; II, p. 266.

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> 'Verily there will happen to my people what happened to Banu Israel. The Banu Israel are divided into 72 religious bodies, and my people will be divided into 73 religious bodies, exceeding them by one.' They said: 'O Prophet of Allah, which is the one religious body that will escape the fire?' He said, 'That to which I belong and my companions.'[1]

The question of how many sects, or which sect, would be saved has been a topic of keen discussion. *Al Muqaddasī* refers to a version in which one sect will be doomed and 72 will be saved,[2] but usually the tradition as quoted assures salvation to only one sect, and in true sectarian spirit, in whatever religion found, the followers of each sect are sure that *theirs is the one.* Thus, in the *Dābistān* we read:

> A Shiah is no Musalman, and when he brings forth his faith it is not right according to the saying of the Prophet. (Likewise the Shi'a) went so far that whoever did not . . . without hesitation acknowledge the supremacy of Ali . . . and profess his being the chief of the faith and substitute of the Prophet, was not reckoned by them among the Musalmans.[3]

A recent writer takes the same position:

> It is the Shiahs alone who have continued all these thirteen hundred years to preserve uninfluenced by political and dynastic considerations, the teachings and directions of the great Arabian World Teacher in their original purity.[4]

After the usual ascriptions of praise Al Baghdadī opens with:

> You have asked me for an explanation of the well known tradition attributed to the Prophet with regard to the division of the Moslem Community into 73 sects, of which one has saving grace and is destined for Paradise on High, whilst the rest are in the wrong, leading to the deep Pit and the Ever-flaming fire. You requested me to draw the distinction between the sect that saves, the step of which does not stumble and from which grace does not depart, and the misguided sects which regard the darkness of idolatry as light, and the belief in truth as leading to perdition . . . which sects are condemned to everlasting fire and shall find no aid in Allah.[5]

True to the orthodox emphasis on traditions, Al Baghdādī and

[1] Al Baghdadi, Al Farq bain al Firaq, Tr. by Seelye, K.C., p. 21.
[2] Ibn Hazm, Kitab al Milal wa'l Nihal, Tr. by Friedlander, I., pp. 4/5.
[3] Mohsin Fani, Dabistan al Madhahib, Tr. by Shea, D. and Troyer, A., pp. 324/25.
[4] Badshah Husain, A. F., Shiah Islam, Moslem World XXXI, April 1941, pp. 185/92.
[5] Al Baghdadi, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

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Shahrastānī " strive to whip the various sects into line, cutting, inserting and combing, till they reach the number 73."[1] Ibn Ḥazm does not do this and Friedlander says of his truthfulness that it " is of the right sort, (he) being as anxious to say the truth as to avoid the untruth."[2] But even Ibn Ḥazm writes vigorously, frequently with intense bitterness and invective.

All of these writers describe many unorthodox sects other than those included with the Shī'a. All the authors differ in their classification of the Shī'a. Ibn Ḥazm and Al Baghdādī do not include the extreme sects, *ghulāt*, which often claim divinity for certain persons as Shī'a. Shahrastānī lists them in the following divisions : Kaisānīya four, Zaidīya three, Imāmīya one, Ghulāt ten, Ismā'īlīya one, or a total of nineteen.[3] Al Baghdādī, omitting the Ghulāt, finds Zaidīya three, Kaisānīya two, Imāmīya fifteen or a total of twenty *firāq*.[4] Ibn Ḥazm lists only two sub-divisions of the Shi'a : the Zaidīya and the Imāmīya. By omitting the *Ismā'īlīya* both these writers seem to say that they are among the *ghulāt*, and therefore, out of the pale of Islam.

Goldziher has suggested that the word translated sect was originally *shu'ab*, branches, which only gradually came to have the meaning of *firqa*,[5] division. The word, Shi'a, comes from a root *Sha'a*, meaning to follow, to conform with, to obey, signifying therefore, a group of followers, or a party. The Muslim community had remained more or less united until the death of 'Uthmān, but it then became divided into two distinct parties, the *shī'at* 'Ali and the *shī'at* Mu'āwiya.[6] When Mu'āwiya was recognized as the *khalīfa*, the *shī'at* 'Ali, contracted now to *shī'a*, remained. Since then the term Shī'a has itself come to signify ' sect.'[7] The word *madhhab* (pl. *madhāhib*) used by Muḥammad Najm al Ghanī Khān connotes not only sect, but is in general use in Urdu for religions. Its use for sects suggests how deep the differences have cut.

The orthodox Sunni position has been defined by Al Baghdādi as follows :

> The approved view according to us is that membership in the community of Islam is extended to everyone who affirms the creation of the Universe, the unity and pre-existence of

[1] *Ibid.*, Intro., pp. 4/5.
[2] Friedlander, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
[3] Al Shahrastani, Kitab al Milal wa'l Nihal, Ed. by Cureton, p. 9.
[4] Al Baghdadi, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 2.
[6] Nicholson, R. A., A literary History of the Arabs, p. 213.
[7] Macdonald, D. B., Development of Muslim Theology, p. 19.

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> *its Maker, and that He* is just and wise, rejecting at the same time *tashbih* (anthropomorphism) and *ta'til* (divesting of attributes). He must also acknowledge the prophecy of all His prophets and the veracity and apostolate of Muhammad to all mankind, and the perpetuation of His law ; that everything that is revealed to him is true and that the Kuran is the source of all the precepts of His law. He must also recognise the duty of the five prayers in the direction of the Kaa'ba, of the poor rate, of the fast of Ramadan and of the pilgrimage to the house, which are required of the community as a whole. Whoever professes all of this is included within the people of the community of Islam. After this he is to be observed ; if he does not adulterate his faith with an abominable innovation which leads to heresy, then he is a Sunnite Unitarian.[1]

Against this definition of the Sunni we may take Ibn Ḥazm's brief definition of the Shī'a.

> He who agrees with the Shi'ites that 'Ali is the most excellent of men after the Prophet, and that he and his descendants after him are worthier of the Imamate than any one, is a Shi'ite, though he differ from them in all other matters regarding which Muslims are divided in their opinions. He however who differs from them regarding the above mentioned points is no Shi'ite.[2]

In view of Khwāja Kamāl al Dīn's insistence that there are no sects in Islam it is striking to read in *The Review of Religions* his reply to Sir Muhammad Iqbal's statement on unity in Islam : " He knows it that the differences between the Sunnis and the Shias are vital and fundamental."[3]

The completeness of this cleavage that has rent Islam is evidenced further by a writer in India who has recorded that

> the government had carefully to investigate the legality of applying a Trust, made by a gentleman of the Shiah sect, to the education of the Sunni Musulmans ;[4]

while Judge Arnould, in the Khoja case of 1866, said in his judgment :

> In a word, agreeing in reverencing Muhammad as the apostle and the Koran as the word of God, the Sunnis and Shias agree in little else except in hating each other with the bitterest hatred.[5]

[1] Al Baghdadi, *op. cit.*, pp. 38/39. Note : A translation of the orthodox creed from al Nasafi is to be found in Macdonald's Development.
[2] Ibn Hazm, *op. cit.*, p. 32.
[3] Quoted in News and Notes XXIII, July 1935, pp. 54/55.
[4] Hunter, W. W., The Indian Musulmans, p. 185.
[5] Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. IX, part II, p. 47, n. 3.

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After more than thirteen centuries the most sensitive point of difference between the Sunnis and the Shias is in the attitude to be maintained toward the first three *Khulafā*. The devious ways in which their ill-feeling is manifest are surprising. Here are a few examples : (1) From contempt the author of the tract on the recognition of the Imam writes the names of Abū Bakr and Umar, the first two *khulafā*, upside down.[1] (2) The following curse, used especially on the day when 'Umar was martyred, is a species of religious exercise amongst Indian and Persian Shias who believe its repetition a hundred times on the rosary will remove any difficulty they are in :

> ' God curse 'Umar, then Abu Bakr, then 'Umar, then 'Umar, then 'Umar ; ' or ' O God, curse 'Umar, then Abu Bakr and 'Usman, then 'Umar, then 'Umar, then 'Umar.'[2]

(3) Persians are said to write the names of the first three *khulafā* on the walls of latrines, or on the soles of their shoes.[3] (4) In Lucknow in 1940 novel plans were used to embitter feelings :

> A white-haired goat belonging to a Sunni was got hold of by some Shias and the Tabarra[4] was stamped on its back. The tail of the goat was twisted in a manner causing pain to the goat which ran about the town. Finally it was caught by the police and taken to the thana (police station) where it was found that the writing on the goat's back could not be easily removed. It appears that the Sunni owner refused to take the ' polluted ' goat back.
>
> A white-haired dog was also similarly made a medium for Tabarra writing, but it soon disappeared, having apparently been destroyed by someone.[5]

On the other side, the Sunni attitude toward Shias has also been clearly shown, (1) when Shias caught on pilgrimage to Mecca have been put to death as apostates, and (2) when the public despising of the *khulafā* was considered adequate ground for intervention by the government.[6]

With numerous incidents like these that estrange and embitter, it is good to know that many, both Sunnis and Shias, advocate good will and unity between the groups. The position of the Mujtahid of Najaf—" I never say that the Shiahs should become

[1] Ivanow, W., Ismailitica, p. 12, n. 50.
[2] Phillott, D. C., A. Shi'a Imprecation, JASB VII, p. 691.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] Comminations or curses.
[5] The Statesman, Delhi Ed., April 15, 1940, p. 8.
[6] Hamidullah, M., Muslim Conduct of State, Is. Cul., XV, 1941, p. 164. Also Klein, F. A., the Religion of Islam, p. 181.

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Sunnis, or Sunnis Shiahs. I admit that there must be scope for difference of opinion."[1]—offers a basis for mutual forbearance and good will.

The Rise of Shiism

The rise of Shiism like that of Islam is a historical problem. Every study of Shiite groups takes one swiftly back to 'Ali, to his relations with the Prophet and to the intentions of the Prophet for him. This was the rock on which the unity of Islam suffered its greatest cleavage, characterized by Margoliouth as " the civil war that never stopped."

The rift started immediately on the death of Muḥammad with the question of his successor. Who should he be ? How should he be selected ? The orthodox, or Sunni position, is that the procedure must follow the Qur'ān, or the Sunna, or if these be silent, *ijmā al umma*, common agreement among Muslims. By their procedure, if not in so many words, the Sunnis declare that neither in the Qur'ān, nor in the accepted traditions, did the Prophet give explicit directions for the selection of his successor. Therefore the democratic method of agreement among the people, or their leaders, must prevail. To secure this there were no rules. The first group to gather was that of the Ansār, the Medina party that had " helped " Muḥammad when he arrived there on his flight from Mecca known as the *hijra*, A.D. 622. They had decided on Sa'd ibn 'Ubada, and almost elected him, when the leaders of the *Muhājirīn*, those Companions who had fled with Muḥammad, receiving word of the gathering of the Ansār, arrived on the scene. The upshot of the give and take of " the democratic process " was the election of Abū Bakr to be the *khalīfa*. But so pre-occupied in this business were these leaders that they were absent from the funeral of the Prophet.[2] Not all accepted Abū Bakr. While many of the Ansār had pledged their allegiance, there were still others of them who, when asked to do so, replied : " We will not give our allegiance to any but 'Ali."[3] Some of the Banu Hāshim, an important family among the Quraish in Mecca, as also some of the *Muhājirīn*, supported them. It is doubtful if the attitude of 'Ali's supporters should be thought of as a party action. It

[1] Zanjani, M. A. K., The Unity of Islam, Is. Rev. XXIV, No. 4, April 1936, pp. 134/39.
[2] Hosain, Safdar, The Early History of Islam, p. 285 ; Hasan Sd. Najmul, Nubuwwat wa'l Khilafat, Tr. by Haidari, L. A., pp. 19, 36. (2nd Ed., 1934.)
[3] Donaldson, D. M., The Shi'ite Religion, pp. 11/12.

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seems rather to have been a personal appreciation of 'Ali as a man, perhaps as a relative of the Prophet, but it was also an expression of confidence in him. It may have carried something of rebuke to those who had been absent from the funeral. If 'Ali really considered asserting his rights he was the more interested in a united Islam, and loyally accepted the election of Abū Bakr.

Al Suyūṭi[1] deals at length with the traditions referring to Abū Bakr's merit, his ability, his piety, and the supreme place that he held among the Companions. It was he who had been designated by the Prophet to lead the prayers during his last illness. Abū Bakr was one of the earliest believers and through the years none had been more faithful or prominent than he. He was a father-in-law of Muḥammad. He was experienced, tried, true. There is nothing to indicate that he sought the office now given him. He believed that only one of the Quraish could be the *khalīfa*. He was willing to give his allegiance to either 'Umar or to Abū 'Ubaida ibn al Jarrāh, who were with him at the time that he was elected. He accepted, he said, only because he "feared lest discord should arise and apostasy follow" if there were a contest. Gradually his selection met the approval of all leaders. 'Ali held off until after the death of Fāṭima.

The high sense of duty with which Abū Bakr entered upon his office is shown in his address at the mosque after his election, where together the people swore a general allegiance.

> And now, O ye people, verily I have received authority over you though I be not the best among you, yet if I do well assist me, and if I incline to evil direct me aright. Truth is a sacred trust and falsehood is a betrayal. He that is weak among you, is strong before me, inasmuch as I shall restore unto him his due, if it please God, and he that is strong among you is weak, inasmuch as I shall take that which is due from him if it please God. A people abstaineth not from warring in the cause of the Lord, but he smiteth them with ignominy, and iniquity is never made manifest among a people, but he afflicteth them with misfortune. Obey me as long as I obey the Lord and his Apostle, and when I turn aside from the Lord and his Apostle, then obedience to me shall not be obligatory upon you.[2]

At the opening of his *khilāfat* dissensions arose among the people called Muslims for Islam had not yet fully unified the many

[1] Al Suyuti, Tarikh al Khulafa, Tr. by Jarrett, H. S., 1881.
[2] *Ibid.*

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tribes. Ṭulaiha and Musailama were claimants for the prophetic office. The latter raised an armed rebellion but was killed in the fighting. By deciding on campaigns of conquest in both the east and the west, Abū Bakr took the thoughts of the people off their intertribal jealousies and welded Arabians into a single unit. The outstanding general in these military campaigns was Khalīd ibn Walīd, who won victories in Persia and subsequently had a share in the subjugation of Syria. So many readers of the Qur'ān, men who knew it by heart, had perished in these campaigns—at the battle of Yamama thirty-nine were killed—that 'Umar suggested, and Abū Bakr arranged for, a collection of all the parts of the Qur'ān, so that there might be one official copy.

The Shias have a number of criticisms of Abū Bakr :

> saying for instance that he acted against the Quran in the matter of the Prophet's inheritance and did not give the Prophet's daughter her due share. That he confiscated the estate of Fadak which by God's command the Prophet had settled upon her in his life-time. . . . Notwithstanding the strict orders of the Prophet to the contrary, he deserted the force of Usama. He was ignorant of most of the divine laws. He had the left hand of a thief cut off. . . . he was not aware of the rule of inheritance for paternal and maternal grandmother. When Ali declined to do Baiat (i.e. to swear fealty) to him and to acknowledge his caliphate, he sent some persons including Omar to set fire to his house. These people caused the door of the house to fall on Fatima the shock of which almost fractured her ribs and caused miscarriage, she being pregnant at the time. She never recovered from the injury and died shortly after. Such was the treatment meted out to the most beloved and only surviving offspring of the Prophet by his venerable companion. Further Abubakr was dismissed from the mission of reciting the verses of the Surah-i-baraat (Surah IX) to the Meccans.[1]

Abū Bakr died in A.H. 12. He had taken the precaution to nominate a successor, 'Umar ibn al Khaṭṭāb, who by common consent was received as *khalīfa*. He continued the military subjugation of adjoining countries, Syria, Palestine and the further conquest of Persia. In general he was tolerant, yet 'Umar shared the feeling that the Arabs were a special class. He established the rule that the Arab was to be a warrior, without ownership in conquered lands, and that no non-Muslim should live in Arabia. He introduced the custom of dating events from the year of

[1] Hasan, Sd. Najmul, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

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Muḥammad's flight to Medina, known as the *Hijra*, and designated as A.H. 'Umar is intensely hated by the Shias as the first to thwart the claims of 'Ali when he was the first to pledge his allegiance to Abū Bakr.[1]

'Umar did not name a successor but appointed a council of six which should elect. On this council 'Ali was a member. The *khilāfat* was offered to him with the provision that he would be governed by the procedure of his two predecessors as well as by the laws of the Prophet. " With characteristic independence Ali refused to allow his judgment to be so fettered."[2] The choice then fell on 'Uthmān, an Umaiyad.

The version of the Qur'ān which had been made under Abū Bakr continued as the standard during 'Umar's *khilāfat*. But so many differences had developed among " the qurra who were the receptacles and of course the exponents of the sacred text " in the provinces, and for that reason had acquired a tremendous influence over the governors,[3] that 'Uthmān determined that there should be only one standard text. He appointed a committee to carry out a redaction comparing with the copy which had been made under Abū Bakr, and instructing them to make the language conform to the Quraish dialect. He then sent copies to every important centre and ordered that all other copies should be gathered and burned.

It sometimes seemed that 'Uthmān ruled as an Umaiyad rather han as a Muslim, and the traditional conflict between the Umaiyads and the Hashimites received new impetus. Umaiyads were appointed to many high places. Opposition to this policy resulted in insurrections at Kūfa, Basra, Egypt and even in Medina. In A.H. 35 'Uthmān was murdered, stabbed by daggers in his own house. It is said that 'Uthmān suspected 'Ali of writing the letter which was intercepted, asking authorities in Egypt to put to death the leaders of the party against 'Uthmān.[4] During these years 'Ali had continued to live in Medina. Concerning his attitude towards his predecessors he is quoted as saying :

> I co-operated with sincere faith and perfect unity of heart with Abu Bakr, 'Omar and Usman, the three early Caliphs, in the transaction of high matters of state and religion ; so much so, that when they sat, I sat ; when they stood up, I stood up, and when they marched forward, I marched forward.

[1] Vida, G. L. D., E.I., 'Omar.
[2] Ameer 'Ali, The Spirit of Islam, p. 281.
[3] Vida, G. L. D., E.I., 'Othman.
[4] *Ibid.*

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> Whenever they sought my help I offered my services. I never grudged to give them my counsel. Nay, I often worked as their vicegerent in the capital of Medina in their absence.[1]

Now, 'Ali's turn had come. Largely through the influence of the insurgents he was elected as the fourth *khalīfa*. Sell writes that "for some days following the death of U'thmān nothing was done . . . but at length 'Ali was elected,"[2] but Mas'ūdi puts the election on the same day that 'Uthmān was killed and Ibn Sa'd puts it the day after.[3] He was proclaimed as *Khalīfa* in the mosque in Medina and he ascended the pulpit for the ceremony. While most gave their allegiance to him at once, some influential Quraish refused to do so. There was a suspicion that 'Ali had not done all that he could to save 'Uthmān. As *khalīfa* he did not do anything to punish the guilty. Perhaps he could not ; but that he did not simply added to exacerbated feelings. Ṭalḥa and Zubair, who had already pledged their allegiance, claimed that it had not been voluntary and withdrew their pledge. 'Aisha, widow of Muḥammad, was strongly against 'Ali owing to his having recommended to the Prophet many years before, that he should put her away, when she, having been left behind in a caravan, came into camp in the company of a young Arab named Safwān. Now, although she had been persuaded to give up her idea of leading an opposition movement against the new *khalīfa*, she willingly joined Talha and Zubair in their plans to secure the punishment of the murderers of 'Uthmān, and went with them to Basra. There followed civil war. In the battle of the Camel (A.H. 36), when 'Aisha was present in a litter on a camel, Talha and Zubair were both killed. 'Ali permitted 'Aisha to return to Medina and to live there in seclusion.

Among those who had been previously appointed to important provincial posts was Mu'āwiya, Governor of Syria, whose kingdom was almost independent. 'Ali sought to recall him but received in reply a blank sheet of paper inscribed ' From M to A'. Secretly he was ready to challenge 'Ali's place as *khalīfa* and secure it for himself ; ostensibly he was out to secure the punishment of the murderer of 'Uthman. Both sides prepared for battle and the armies met at Siffin. The contest had been fiercely fought and seemed to be going against Mu'āwiya when 'Amr ibn al 'Ās suggested a clever ruse that they should affix copies of the

[1] Zanjani, M. A. K., *op. cit.*, p. 138.
[2] Sell, Canon, Al Khulafa ar Rashidun, 2nd Ed., 1913, p. 50.
[3] Donaldson, *op. cit.*, p. 27, n. 1.

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Qur'ān, or parts of the same, to their spears, and then moving forward appeal to their opponents for a decision according to the Qur'ān. War weary as both sides were, this was accepted, although 'Ali urged against it. Two arbitrators were appointed. The two agreed, according to Al Suyūṭi, that neither Mu'āwiya nor 'Ali should be *Khalīfa*. Mu'āwiya's representative, 'Amr ibn al 'Ās, insisted that Abū Mūsā al Asharī, who represented 'Ali, should speak first. This he did, deposing his master. In his turn 'Amr spoke and simply said that since

> one of the claimants had renounced his pretensions, the best course to pursue was to confirm the other which was accordingly done.[1]

'Ali refused to accept the decision as valid and there were now two khulafā.

In part because 'Ali had consented to arbitrate the question, although he had protested, and in part because of bitter hatred of Arab domination from which 'Ali could offer no relief, a large number of his followers " went out ", or seceded from his army, and were therefore known as the *Khawārij*. 'Ali at first sent 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abbās to induce them to return but they would not, and because of some excesses that they were committing he sent an expedition against them and they were defeated at Nahrawan in A.H. 38. But the *Khawārij* remained an active minority, faithful to their ' fundamentalist ' views, a thorn to many *khulafā* who were to follow.

A group of these over-ardent *Khawārij* formed a plot to kill 'Ali, Mu'āwiya and 'Amr. A single night was fixed for the assassinations, " the night of the 11th or the 17th of Ramaḍan " in A.H. 40 ; their weapons poisoned swords. It happened that 'Amr was absent from the mosque at Fustat on the night appointed and another man was injured ; Mu'āwiya was wounded but not fatally ; only 'Ali, at Kūfa, was so severely wounded as to die. He lived till Sunday night. He was sixty-three years of age. He was buried either near the mosque in Kūfa, or at Najaf not far from Kūfa, where his present shrine is. Another report says that Ḥasan had the body taken to Medina where it was buried near the grave of Fāṭima. The exact place was kept a secret so that the *Khawārij* might not dig up the grave. It is quite certain that in early times the place was not the object of care or veneration.[2]

[1] Al Suyuti, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
[2] Muir, W., The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline and Fall, p. 301.

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These four *khulafā*, known as the *Al Khulafā al Rashīdun*, 'the rightly guided,' or the *Khilāfat al Kāmila*, 'the perfect' *khilāfat*, are accepted by all Sunni Muslims. The dynasties which followed violate the Arab tradition of election of the men who are best qualified to hold the office. "But," says Pickthall, "Sunni Muslims have always been more ready to accept the *fait accompli* as the will of God, and to accept what is given them, instead of their ideal as the best they deserve."

This the Shias would not do. To them Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān are all usurpers. By divine appointment 'Ali had been the *de facto Khalīfa*, the true *Amīr al Mu'minīn*, or leader of the faithful, even when not recognized. The 'orthodox' accept his *khilāfat* as it passed by right of conquest after the death of 'Ali to Mu'āwiya and his successors; but for the Shias, the imamate which is a much more important office, passed to Ḥasan, elder son of 'Ali and Fāṭima.

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CHAPTER II

'ALI THE IMAM

'ALI, the *Khalīfa*, belongs to history. Nature had not endowed him with a commanding physical presence. He was

> below middle size, (tending) towards shortness, stooping frightfully as though he had been broken and then reset ; with a mighty beard which covered his chest from one shoulder bone to the other, when he had become bearded ; with heavy eyes, with thin thighs, mightily bald, with no hair on his head except a tiny bit at the back of it, but with much hair on his body.[1]

Nor would it appear that 'Ali had claimed or manifested more of spiritual authority than his predecessors. Of his *khilāfat* Ameer Ali, a staunch Shī'a, writes :

> As a ruler ('Ali) came before his time. He was almost unfitted by his uncompromising love of truth, his gentleness, and his masterful nature, to cope with the Omeyyades' treachery and falsehood.[2]

History confirms this judgment for by the time of 'Uthmān's death events had gone beyond 'Ali's control.

'Ali, the Imam, belongs to Shiism, where he is an outstanding, surpassing personality. A great many Sunnis will agree that in spiritual heritage 'Ali was the heir of the Prophet. But the Shi'a go far beyond this. Their literature, especially works like *Sharh al Akhbār*, dealing with traditions, contain sections describing the Divine command to obey 'Ali, his supreme wisdom, his virtues and the promise of Paradise to his followers.[3] A collection of traditions ascribed to Sayyid 'Ali Ḥamdāni who arrived in Kashmir for missionary work in A.D. 1388, has sections on " The Excellencies of 'Ali ; " " 'Ali is master of him whose master is the Apostle of Allah ; " " Obedience to him is obedience to Allah ; " " Keys of Paradise and Hell are in 'Ali's hand ; " " The virtues of Fatima."[4]

The above works and many others, contain sections dealing

1 Ibn Hazm, *op. cit.*, p. 57.
2 Ameer Ali, *op. cit.*, p. 281.
3 Ivanow, W., Guide, No. 68.
4 Hamdani, Sd. Ali, Al Muwaddat al Qurba.

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with the *Ahl al Bait*, by which is meant the family of Muḥammad, or the people of the house. This term includes with the Prophet, 'Ali, Fāṭima, Ḥasan and Ḥusain, the *Pāk Panjtan*, or the five pure ones. On one occasion the Prophet is said to have thrown his cloak over these four, saying, " These are the members of my family," from which they have been designated as *Aṣḥāb al Kisa*, the privileged ones of the cloak.[1] Muslim has recorded that when the verse, " Let us summon our sons and your sons," (Sūra III 54, Rodwell), was revealed, Muḥammad called 'Ali, Fāṭima, Ḥasan and Ḥusain saying, " O God, these are my family."[2] This is the group that the Prophet especially loved and who came to be considered sinless. This dogma is based on Sura XXXIII 33, " For God only desireth to put away filthiness from you as his household, and with cleansing to cleanse you." This verse would appear to be directly addressed to the wives of Muḥammad, but the Shī'a explain :

> The pronouns in this part of the verse, being of the masculine gender, mean to indicate 'Ali, Ḥasan and Ḥusain, whereas the plural feminine used in the previous part of the verse, is directed to the wives.[3]

One other tradition is important because of its wider application. It relates that Gabriel was sent down, and holding a sheet over the five holy ones exclaimed,

> O Muhammad, the Almighty showers his blessings upon you and orders that thou and the offspring of the four who sit with thee shall henceforth be Sayyids.[4]

This high privilege of being a Sayyid, or descendant of the Prophet, is one of the most treasured among Muslims. Fatimid Sayyids often indicate their descent by designations such as Ḥusaini, Ḥasani, Ja'fari, or by the name of the birthplace of the first ancestor who came to India, as Gilāni, Kirmāni, or Bukhāri. The term Sayyid is not synonymous with *ahl al bait* which is restricted to the four, and to the Imams of the Shi'a.

Not all Sayyids, by any means, are members of the Shi'ite faith. Sayyids are forbidden to receive charity except from other Sayyids.

The names of the five pure ones are often drawn in ornamental letters with floral designs and used in the place of pictures in

[1] EI, Fatima.
[2] Al Suyuti, *op. cit.*, p. 173.
[3] Hosain, Safdar, *op. cit.*, p. 229.
[4] Hamdani, Sd. Ali, *op. cit.*

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Shi'ite homes, and imambaras. Engraved in buildings these names indicate strong Shi'ite connections. In places where Shias need signs for recognition the spread hand showing the five fingers is used. It is sometimes used on walls in Indian villages to indicate homes of Shias during Muḥarram.[1]

In some groups of the Shī'ā 'Ali's position has been greatly exalted. The earliest explicit propaganda in his favour is connected with 'Abdullāh ibn Saba'. He was a native of San'a in Yemen, and a Jew. During the *Khilāfat* of 'Uthmān he became a Muslim and travelled widely preaching the return of Muḥammad, while meantime, his *waṣī*, or executor, was present, as had been true for every prophet. He opened a campaign on behalf of 'Ali suggesting that Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān were usurpers, since the divine spirit which had dwelt in Muḥammad had passed to 'Ali. His travels took him to the Hejāz, Basra, Kūfa, Syria and Egypt. Muir says that he was expelled from Basra, Kūfa and Syria. Disappointed by 'Uthmān, he became an earnest advocate for his overthrow. To this programme the malcontents responded.[2]

The life of 'Ali as recounted by Shiites is a continuous narrative of amazing providence from birth to burial. It commences with the family of 'Abd al Muṭṭalib, the grandfather of both Muḥammad and 'Ali, Muḥammad's father, 'Abdullah, died before his prophet-son was born, and his mother when he was six years of age. The youth was nurtured in the home of his grandfather until his death about three years later, when he committed the boy to his son, Abū Ṭālib. Here he spent his early life. Muḥammad was thirty-three years of age when 'Ali was born in the home of Abū Ṭālib. Sayyid Safdar Hosain will tell the story :

> It was perhaps on the occasion of the death of a babe that Abu Talib's wife, Fatema bint Asad, who was pregnant, offered to make over to Mohammed her issue, whether male or female, in order to comfort him in his bereavement (as Fatema, his daughter was not yet born). This offer proved to be the Decree of Providence later on. Fatema felt how the babe, when still in the womb, compelled her to stand up in order to pay respect to Mohammed, whenever he happened to visit her ; and never allowed to let her turn her face from Mohammed so long as he was there. Ordinarily it should have been the other way, because the aunt, being Mohammed's superior by relation,

[1] Ali, Mrs. Meer Hassan, Observations on the Mussalmanns of India, 2nd. ed., 1917, p. 21.
[2] Nicholson, *op. cit.*, pp. 215/16. Muir, *op. cit.*, pp. 225/26.

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ranking almost as his mother, owed respect from him ; but she knew not what power made her stand up at once before Mohammed, who was now about thirty years of age.

" This babe was none other than 'Ali, who was born within the holy precincts of Ka'ba (600 A.D.), where none else was born, ever since its foundation thousands of years ago. He first opened his eyes on no other object but the face of Mohammed, when he took him caressingly in his arms. His first wash, after his birth, was performed by Mohammed, with a prediction that this babe would give him his last wash. The prohecy was fulfilled on the death of Mohammed. The babe accepted no other food than the moisture of Mohammed's tongue, which he sucked for several days after his birth. Mohammed fondled him while an infant, in his lap ; used to chew his food and feed 'Ali on it, made him often sleep by his side in the same bed and 'Ali enjoyed the warmth of Mohammed's body and inhaled the holy fragrance of his breath. When grown up, he shared the meals and was brought up under the personal care of Mohammed to share in his high ethics and morals."[1]

By his marriage with Khadījah Muḥammad was well off. So, too, was his uncle 'Abbās. During a famine period, Muḥammad suggested to his uncle 'Abbās that they should each adopt one of Abū Ṭālib's boys, since he had limited means. This was done. 'Abbās took Ja'far, Muḥammad took 'Ali, and thus expressed his gratitude for the care he had received from Abū Ṭālib, who though he believed in the sincerity of Muḥammad's claim, never became a Muslim. In this setting, what was more natural than that 'Ali should be the first to embrace the faith of his foster-father, or that later he should receive in marriage the only daughter of the Prophet, Fāṭima ! There were other suitors for her hand. The decision was not left to human choice, for Fāṭima was one of four noble ladies " Perfect in Faith " who have blessed humanity ; the others being Asia, the wife of Pharoah ; Mary, the mother of Jesus ; and Khadījah, the wife of Muḥammad.[2] The divine selection of 'Ali as the husband of Fāṭima was revealed in a miracle.

Muhammad had said he would only marry her to him on whose house the planet Venus descended. All the suitors were watching, and so was Fatima on that great night. When Venus left the firmament and paused above Medina she called out thirty-four times, ' Allah ho Akbar, Allah is Great ' ; the planet then circled round Medina until thirty-three times she had

[1] Hosain, Safdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 25 ff.
[2] Wensinck, A. J., The Muslim Creed, pp. 183/84.

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> exclaimed ' Subhan Allah, Glory to Allah ' ; and then it moved toward 'Ali's home and thirty-three times she called, ' Al hamd ul lillah, Thanks to Allah '. Then it stopped and congratulated him and then returned to its place in the firmament.[1]

While Fatima lived, 'Ali did not marry any other. By her he had three sons, Ḥasan, Ḥusain, and Moḥsin who died in infancy. After Fāṭima's death he married twelve other wives. He had in all, seventeen sons and nineteen daughters and " the total number of his mates, *azwāj*, was three hundred ninety-five."[2] Among these was one called the Ḥanafite. She had come to the *khalīfa*, Abū Bakr, as a captive. A tradition exists that Muḥammad had told 'Ali that he would come into possession of a girl from among the Banu Ḥanīfa, and that he should call the son who would be born, by his name. We shall meet with him again.

Much that seems to be legend has been mingled with facts concerning 'Ali. His virtues have been extolled ; his weaknesses obscured. Shias use only superlatives in recounting his virtues, and these are many. In bravery and strength he is outstanding. He had a sword called *dhu'l faqār*, with which he performed tremendous feats of valour, killing many more than any other warriors, and at the battle of Uhud he was praised by the angels.[3] He exemplified the Islamic virtue of charity, in that though he

> had from his properties an abundant revenue all of which he spent on the poor and needy, . . . he and his family contented themselves with coarse cotton garments and a loaf of barley-bread.[4]

Many traditions are given praising his judicial mind. In the tenth year of the *hijra* 'Ali was sent to the Yemen as a missionary. He demurred, feeling that he would be opposed by many men of greater age and experience in their scriptures. Muḥammad prayed, " O God ! Loosen 'Ali's tongue and guide his heart " and sent him forth. Tribe after tribe accepted Islam as a result of his teaching.[5] A small booklet entitled "An Ideal King " gives stories of " 'Ali and his dress ", " 'Ali and his bed ", " 'Ali's simplicity in diet," and " Instructions for Officers to lead a simple Life."[6] Donaldson records how 'Ali assisted in systematizing Arabic grammar. 'Ali was perhaps the most acquainted with the Qur'ān and is said to have had a copy of his own which he

[1] Sykes, P., The Glory of the Shia World, pp. 135/36.
[2] Donaldson, D. M., *op. cit.*, p. 15.
[3] Hosain, Safdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 111, 123.
[4] Browne, E. G., A Literary History of Persia, I, p. 189.
[5] Hosain, Safdar, *op. cit.*, p. 232.
[6] Tilhari, S.A.A., An Ideal King.

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never surrendered to 'Uthmān. 'Ali is credited with being the author of several books which Ivanow considers apocryphal. His *waṣīyat*, will, of moral and religious contents is included in the second volume of *Da'āim al Islām*, while the *Dīwān* and *Akālīm* are used both by the *Ithnā 'Asharīya* and *Ismā'īlīya*. Many collections of proverbs and moral precepts or "Sayings of Hadrat Ali" have been printed, including one by Vatier in Paris in 1660, and at Oxford in 1806.

It is a strange commentary on human nature that one who was so highly esteemed by one community should be so blindly hated by another; but from the time of the "arbitration" of the *khilāfat* with Mu'āwiya, the name of 'Ali was publicly cursed in the mosques of the empire until the time of 'Umar II, who ordered the practice stopped.[1]

The eighteenth of Dhul Hijja is observed as a holiday by Shias and is called 'Id i Ghadīr, for it was on that day at Ghadīr Khum (*ghadīr* signifying a place where water stands) that Muḥammad crowned his mission by designating 'Ali as Amīr al Mu'minīn, or "adopted 'Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib as his brother", saying, "'Ali is to me what Aaron was to Moses."[2] For the Shī'a this was a declaration that 'Ali was to be the Prophet's successor, not as a Prophet, but as his *waṣī*, or executive, the first Imam. He did this in obedience to the revelation recorded in Sura V : 71 ; "O Apostle! proclaim all that hath been sent down to thee from thy Lord : for if thou do it not, thou hast not proclaimed His message at all" (Rodwell). In a sectarian reading, it is expressed "bring to humanity the message that we entrusted to thee, and if thou dost not deliver it, thou wilt not fulfill thy mission."[3] That is to say, all that had preceded in the work of the Prophet and by the Qur'ān, would be incomplete without the unique task of 'Ali.

It was on the return journey after the Prophet's last pilgrimage, "three stages from Mecca," that he made this important designation for he had apparently received a second command to do so. The caravan was halted; a pulpit was constructed from the saddles of the camels; the ground was cleared and the *muadhdhan* called the people to service. Muḥammad mounted the pulpit with 'Ali on his right side. 'Ali was wearing a black turban and it had been fixed by the Prophet himself so that the ends hung over both shoulders.

[1] Browne, *op. cit.*, I, 235 ; Muir., *op cit.*, p. 304.
[2] Wensinck, A. J., A Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition, p. 15.
[3] Shihabu'd Din, Risala dar Haqiqati Din, Tr. by Ivanow, W., True Meaning of Religion, p. 8.

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First the Prophet praised God, then he addressed the multitudes thus: 'Ye believe that there is but one God, that Mohammed is His apostle?' They answered, 'We believe these things.' Then stating that he would be called to meet his Lord before long, he said: 'I leave unto you two grand precepts, each of which surpasses the other in grandeur, God's book (the Quran) and my Progeny, the family of mine . . . Beware how you behave to them when I am gone from amongst you. Both of them will never separate from each other until they reach me in Heaven at the fountain of Kawthar.'
So saying, he took one hand of 'Ali into his own and lifting it upright solemnly proclaimed, 'Whomsoever I own the guardianship, 'Ali too owns the guardianship of that. May God uphold those who befriend 'Ali, and may he turn from those who turn enemy to him.' . . . Announcing this thrice, he got down from the raised platform and seated 'Ali in a tent, where the people did him homage, Omar bin al Khattab was the first to congratulate 'Ali and to acknowledge him 'Guardian of all Believers'.[1]

His Holiness Shams-ul-'Ulamā Maulāna Syed Najmul Ḥasan Ṣāḥib, a Mujtahid in Lucknow, states that this occasion at Ghadīr Khum "has unanimously been mentioned by the learned historians and divines of both sects", and adds that it was only after this ceremony that Sura V : 5 was revealed:[2]

> "This day have I perfected your religion for you, and have filled up the measure of my favours upon you: and it is my pleasure that Islam be your religion" (Rodwell).

Having in mind the fact that Muḥammad died not very long after this, it is easy to understand the importance that the Shi'a attach to the meeting at Ghadir Khum. Mrs. Meer Hasan Ali says that "the speech to 'Ali on that occasion is much reverenced by the Sheah sect." A portion of it, as translated by her husband is here given:

> You, my son, will suffer many persecutions in the cause of religion; many will be the obstructions to your preaching, for I see that they are not all as obedient and faithful as yourself. Usurpers of the authority delegated to you will arise, whose views are not pure and holy as your own; but let my admonitions dwell on your mind, remember my advice without swerving. The religion I have laboured to teach, is, as yet, but as the buds shooting forth from the tree; tender as they are, the rude blasts of dissension may scatter them to the winds, and leave the parent tree without a leaf:—but

[1] Hosain, Safdar, *op. cit.*
[2] Hasan, Sd. Najmul, *op. cit.*, pp. 29/32.

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> suffered to push forth its produce quietly, the hand of Time will ripen and bring to perfection that which has been the business of my awakened life to cultivate. Never, my son, suffer your sword to be unsheathed in the justice of your cause ; I exhort you to bear this injunction on your mind faithfully ; whatever may be the provocation you receive, or insults offered to your person,--I know this trial is in store for my son—remember the cause you are engaged in ; suffer patiently ; never draw your sword against the people who profess the true faith, even though they are by name Mussulmauns. Against the enemies of God, I have already given you directions ; you may fight for Him--the only true God--but never against Him, or His faithful servants.[1]

On other occasions, too, Muḥammad is said to have virtually named 'Ali as his successor. For instance, there is the tradition connected with the revelation of the verse, "And warn thy relatives of nearer kin", (Sura XXVI : 214, Rodwell). When this had been revealed Muḥammad sent for the relatives of 'Abd al Muṭṭalib and served them their meals. One account says that he entertained them for three days, after which, following dinner, he spoke to them :

> 'O sons of Muttalib! By Allah I offer you the greatest blessing of this world and the next. Tell me which of you will support me, on the condition to be my helper and supporter.' Every one remained silent except 'Ali, who stood up and said, 'Although I am the youngest in age, and have sore eyes, and my legs are thin, still I will be your helper and supporter.' 'Ali was told to sit down, while the Prophet, a second and then a third time made the same challenge. But each time none but 'Ali arose. On the third occasion the Apostle of Allah said to 'Ali, 'Sit down, thou art my brother, my heir, executor of my will, and my Caliph.'[2]

The occasion of an expedition when Muḥammad left 'Ali at Medina is given as another instance of the Prophet's indicating him as his successor :

> Some idolaters told 'Ali that he had been left behind because Muhammad expected dangers in the expedition, 'Ali, therefore, left the city at once and joined the Prophet and told him what had been said. 'I have appointed thee my vicegerent and left thee in my stead. Return then to thy post, and be my deputy over my people and thine. O 'Ali, art thou not content that thou art to me what Aaron was to Moses.'[3]

[1] Ali, Mrs. Meer Hassan, *op. cit.*, pp. 69/70.
[2] Hamdani, *op. cit.*
[3] Ameer Ali, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

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The same tradition is related in *Nubuwwat wa'l Khilafat* with this ending : " Brother go back to Medina as it is essential that either I should stay there or you."[1]

Against these Shi'ite claims of a clear designation for 'Ali to be the successor of Muḥammad, there is a conversation recorded by Al Suyūṭi, in which 'Ali was frankly asked concerning " a charge of the apostle of God " to which 'Ali replied with the vigour and directness which was characteristic of him :

> As to their being on me a charge from the Apostle of God, concerning that, no, by Allah, surely if I was the first to maintain truth, I will not be the first to put a lie upon him, and if I had received from the Prophet a charge regarding that, I would not have suffered a brother (Abu Bakr) of the children of Taym the son of Murrah, nor Omar the son of al Khattab, to stand upon his pulpit, and I would surely have fought them with my own hand, even though I had not got but this my garment ; but the Apostle of God was not slain murderously, nor did he die suddenly, but he lingered some days and nights in his illness, the Muaddin coming to him and summoning him to prayers. And he commanded Abu Bakr to pray before the people, though he knew my high consideration, and verily a woman among his wives desired to turn him from Abu Bakr, but he refused and was angered and said, ' Ye are the mistresses of Joseph—direct Abu Bakr to pray before the people.'[2]

If, as the Shias claim, 'Ali was named as Amīr al Mu'minīn under a divine dispensation, we would expect that he had received special preparation for this position, from Muḥammad. The records that tell of the special copy of the Qur'ān which he had, also tell us that 'Ali had written on the margins and pages, notes of explanations he had received from such personal teaching. 'Ali himself describes his preparation in the following passage :

> I, ('Ali) used to visit the messenger of Allah habitually, every night and every day in strict privacy, when he used to answer me concerning what I asked, and I used to go about him wherever he went. The companions of the Messenger of Allah knew (full well) that he did not act in this manner with anyone else. And this (private conversation) would often take place in my house. And whenever I would visit him at some of his resting places, he would arrange for being alone with me and ask his wives to leave, so that no one would remain except he and I. And when he would come to me in private,

[1] Hasan, Sd. Najmul, *op. cit.*, p. 28.
[2] Al Suyuti, *op. cit.*, pp. 180/81.

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> he would ask everyone to withdraw except Fatima or one of my two sons, and when questioned he would answer me. And when I would remain silent and my questions would be exhausted, he would begin himself. So that nothing was revealed to the Prophet of the verses of the Qur'ān, or taught to him by Allah, Exalted is He, concerning what was lawful and what was forbidden, command or prohibition, obedience or sin, things past or future—but he would teach it to me and I would write it down in my own hand. He would explain to me its true meaning (*ta'wīl*), and its apparent and hidden significance (*zāhir, bāṭin*), and I would commit it to memory and would not forget even a letter of it.[1]

Both prophets and imams perform miracles as an essential proof of their claims. Some of the miraculous providences that had marked the life of 'Ali have already been indicated. The Persians speak of more than a thousand of 'Ali's miracles " but sixty only have been placed upon record." They include divine provision or protection, as well as wonders which were effected by him, as for instance, these :

> —the head of a kharidjite who brought a charge before 'Ali against a woman, and, while doing so, indulged in crying, was changed by him into a dog's head ; at his prayer, eighty camels which the Prophet had promised to a Bedouin rose out of the ground ; . . . he raised somebody from the dead.[2]

Both Shahrastānī and Ibn Ḥazm refer to efforts to deify 'Ali during his lifetime,[3] Ibn Ḥazm adding that 'Ali burned certain groups that had publicly proclaimed his divinity.[4] Among the Nusairis to this day 'Ali has the place of a deity. Majlisi, writing of the *miraj* or the ascension of the Prophet to heaven, treats it as a bodily experience, in true accord with Shiite beliefs, and thereby shows another aspect of this process of deification. At the time of this ascent Muḥammad learned that the earlier prophets had been raised up " on account of your prophetical office and the imamate of 'Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib, and of the imams of your posterity." Here, too, he saw the similitude of the twelve imams " all performing prayers in a sea of light." Muḥammad found that 'Ali was better known than he himself, and that God had created an angel in the likeness of 'Ali " and when those of us privileged to approach near the Deity wish to visit 'Ali, we visit this angel."[5]

[1] Fyzee, A. A. A., A Shi'ite Creed, pp. 122/23.
[2] Brockelman, E. I., 'Ali.
[3] Al Shahrastani, *op. cit.*, p. 132.
[4] Ibn Hazm, *op. cit.*, p. 37.
[5] Donaldson, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

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'ALI THE IMAM

Salmān Fārsi is authority for the tradition of a light ray from which Muḥammad and 'Ali were made, as this is narrated by Sayyid 'Ali Ḥamdāni :

> I and Ali were both created from one and the same Nūr (Divine Light) four thousand years before Adam was created, and when Adam was created that Nūr (Divine Light) was given a place in his back bone. So we continued to occupy the same place till we were separated in the back of Abdul-Muttalib. Therefore in me is (the quality of) prophetship and in Ali (that of) caliphate.[1]

We have referred elsewhere to the fact that Ḥasan is reported to have buried 'Ali in Medina. There is a story that when Ḥasan dug in the ground he found a grave with its niche, or side chamber, and some bricks, and a board on which was written in two lines the *basmala* and the fact that this grave was prepared by Noah seven hundred years before the flood for 'Ali, the *waṣī* of Muḥammad. " The location was known only to the Imams of the people of the house."[2]

[1] Hasan, Sd. Najmul, *op. cit.*, p. 28.
[2] Najm al Ghani Khan, M., Madhahib al Islam, p. 422.

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CHAPTER III

THE RELIGION OF THE ITHNA 'ASHARIYA I

THERE was no distinctly Shiite doctrine at the time of the Prophet's death. Such feeling as there was in 'Ali's favour, was at best nebulous and without dogmatic value. There was apparently an 'Ali party when 'Uthmān was elected, but still nothing like a sect. The teaching of Abdullāh ibn Saba' which has already been referred to, found good soil among the numerous classes that were discontented with 'Uthmān's administration, and the 'Ali party offered it its most likely candidate.

Dogmas never start fully developed. They evolve and grow under the give and take of ideas, of interpretations and of living examples, and are oft-times tempered in the heat of party strife, or intense persecution. It was so in Islam whose original creed can only be known or fully understood by the study of it in each aspect, or early sect, however important.

The members of both the 'Ali and the Umaiyad parties were Muslims. They agreed in acknowledging their Prophet Muḥammad, and the Qur'ān which he gave them, but in nothing else were ideas fixed. The Qur'ān, the first foundation of Islam, existed with many variations until 'Uthmān, overriding all criticism, provided for a single version. There was agreement in both parties that the example and the sayings of the Prophet should have permanent meaning, but Guillaume shows that the development of the Sunna of the orthodox Sunnis, as now understood, was the work of 250 years after the Prophet's death. Traditions favourable to 'Ali, " many exceedingly detailed records that support the claim of the Shi'ites "[1] in the collection of Ibn Ḥanbal —were included in the accepted collections because of veneration of 'Ali and his family, and because " in the first centuries the Shias were not schismatics, *nor a body of people held together by doctrine or political aims.*"[2] Strothmann, too, after describing instances in which the two groups differed in qur'ānic exegesis, says the examples " betray *the difficulties by which* the doctrinal

[1] Donaldson, *op. cit.*, p. 282.
[2] Guillaume, A., The Traditions of Islam, pp. 13, 19, 61. (Italics mine.)

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theology of the *Muslim majority was faced* in the first half of the second century, *until it was established as orthodox.*"[1] We may note, in passing, that the legal practices in Islam were so uniform that as late as the beginning of the second century of the Hijra Abū Ḥanīfa and Mālik ibn Anās, the heads of two of the standard legal systems of Sunni 'orthodoxy', were attending the classes of Ja'far al Ṣādiq, the Imam of the 'heterodox' Shī'a. Apparently the heretical Shī'a did not regard

> their own doctrines as innovations seceded from the Prophet's heritage of the orthodox faith, but as corrections of ideological mistakes, or even as the fulfilment of a heritage that had been left incomplete.[2]

By winning the *khilāfat* and establishing their authority on issues that had almost no relation to Islamic beliefs, the majority came to be the 'orthodox' party, and when they had seized authority they neglected all these things. The opposition had united as believers in a form of theocracy, but differing widely concerning leaders, continued actively for the "order of *what ought to be.*"[3] The majority, clothed with authority, persecuted and maligned the minority, while the faith of the latter developed through : (1) the manipulation by clever leaders of the basic Shiite dogma of a divinely appointed Imām or Mahdī ; (2) the reactions growing out of persecutions by the Sunni majority ; (3) the inclusion of elements, often foreign, brought in by conquered peoples and converts who had never been fully weaned from their old faiths, and (4) social practices adopted by groups as compensating reactions for the subservience in which they had so long been held.

For the most part the religion of the *Ithnā 'Asharīya*, as those Shias are called who recognize only twelve Imams, has been known from the records of Sunni writers, prone to think of them as heretics. The need for a statement of Shiite doctrine based on Shiite sources, has been long felt. Within recent years W. M. Miller has translated *al Bāb al Hādi 'Ashar* by Allāma i Hilli ; Donaldson has given us *The Shi'ite Religion*, and Fyzee a translation of *Risālat al 'Itiqādāt* by Al Qummi also known as Shaikh Ṣadūq. Mr. Fyzee had originally intended to add with his translation a comparative and historical account of the Shiite creed.

[1] Strothmann, P., On the History of Islamic Heresiography, Is. Cul. XII, 1938, p. 7. (Italics mine.)
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] Donaldson, *op. cit.*, xxiv.

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Such a comparative and critical study is still needed to set Shiism in its proper light, for Fyzee is right when he says

> a minority, however small, may well have retained a very close touch with the original tradition ; the majority, however preponderant, may conceivably have lost it in the stress of political conflicts.[1]

We may yet find in early Islam the basis for the recurring emphasis in Shiite dogmatical works on a difference between *Islām* which makes a man a Muslim, and Imān, or true faith.

Mutazilism

Mutazilism, which had its rise and reached its zenith in the same period during which Shiism was forming, had close connections with the Shi'a, though maintaining itself as a separate movement. According to some reports, Wāsil ibn 'Aṭā, who founded the Mutazilite school was also for a time in the classes of Imam Ja'far.[2] The Mutazilites called themselves 'the people of Unity and Justice' and were a "school of dissenters from the traditional ideas," who stressed "the application of reason to the dogmas of the Qur'ān."[3] Their doctrines had a very great influence among the masses of Islam. Macdonald speaks of the connection of these two movements, Shiism and Mutazilism, as "the great mystery of Muslim history." Syed Ameer Ali boldly links the two :

> It is a well known fact that the chief doctors of the Mutazilite school were educated under the Fatimides (Alids) and there can hardly be any doubt that moderate Mutazilism represented the views of the Caliph 'Ali and the most liberal of his descendants, and probably of Mohammed himself. A careful comparison of Mutazilite doctrines will show that they were either word for word the same as were taught by the early Fatimides, or were modifications of those doctrines induced by the requirements of a progressive society, and partly, perhaps, by the study of Greek and Alexandrian philosophy.[4]

Goldziher also seems to agree that the point of union is the founding of the school by the Imams. Certainly the chapters in the dogmatic books of the Shī'a on the Unity of God and his Justice, and on the Qur'ān, agree with Mutazilite thinking. The reasonable proofs advanced for the theory of the Imamate appear

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 3/4.
[2] Donaldson, *op. cit.*, p. 132.
[3] Macdonald, *op. cit.*, p. 130.
[4] Ameer Ali, *op. cit.*, pp. 415/16.

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also to be based on Mutazilite grounds,[1] and in regard to the doctrine of the infallibility of the Imam, one of the most radical of the Mutazilites, al Naẓẓam, agrees with the Shi'a.[2]

Sufism

It is well at this point to make a reference to Sufism for both Shiism and Sufism started early in the theological development of Islam, and both, sometimes giving to, sometimes receiving from, the other, have influenced each other. Referring to *Ismā'īlī Manuscripts in the Asiatic Museum* in Leningrad, Ross comments that " fresh light is . . . thrown on the identity in origin of Ismailism and Sufism."[3]

Most Sufis are Sunnis ; only a few Shias belong to Ṣūfī orders. All Ṣūfī orders claim Muḥammad the Prophet as their founder and themselves to be " heirs and true interpreters "[4] of the esoteric teaching which he brought. Most of them recognize 'Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib as the medium through which this esoteric teaching is received. Some of these orders trace their connection to 'Ali. An example of this is the founder of the Chishti order, who is ninth in spiritual succession from 'Ali. This order was introduced into India by Mu'in al dīn of Ajmer who is also its most renowned saint, and regarded by some as its real founder,[5] is said to be especially favoured by the Shias.[6]

Some Ṣūfī orders trace their connection with 'Ali through one of the Imams. An instance of this is found in the case of the Tayfurīya order whose founder is Bāyazīd al Bistami. He is chiefly responsible for the introduction of pantheism into Sufism, and is said to have received his spiritual authority from Ja'far al Ṣādiq and Ḥabīb 'Ajami who had both died before his birth. But through " the force of will " of these two men, Bāyazīd al Bistami became instructed.[7] The founder of the Qādiri order 'Abd al Qādir Gilāni is also called Ḥasan al Ḥusaini because on his mother's side he traces his descent from Ḥusain and on his father's side from Ḥasan.[8]

Since an underlying principle of Sufism is to attain to spiritual

[1] Majlisi, III : 35 ff., Tr. by Donaldson, p. 314.
[2] Najm al Ghani Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 381 ; Macdonald, *op. cit.*, pp. 141/42, 152.
[3] Ross, E. D., Ismaili Mss. in the Asiatic Museum, JRAS, 1919, pp. 429/435.
[4] Nicholson, R. A., Mystics of Islam, p. 89.
[5] Subhan, J. A., Sufism, Its Saints and Shrines, pp. 160/61, 174/76.
[6] Jafar Sharif, Tr. by Herklots, G.A., Islam in India, p. 289.
[7] Subhan, *op. cit.*, pp. 168/69.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 176.

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perfection by oneness with the Deity, and Shiism insists that this is possible only through the Imam of the Age, whom Sufis do not accept, there is a basic conflict, a gulf, between the two.[1] In later Ismailism the gap is narrowed and Ismā'īlī pirs often use Ṣūfī methods. The teaching of Shiism that all the esoteric knowledge from Muḥammad has come through 'Ali to the Imams is a link, or bridge over the gulf, and perhaps accounts for the influence which Ṣūfī saints have had in extending Shiism, as for example through Mīr Gesū Darāz, Shāh Ni'matullāh and others, whom we will meet in later accounts.

In turning more especially to the religion of the *Ithnā 'Asharīya* it is not our intention to make a complete summary of Shiite theology, but, assuming the reader's knowledge of the main tenets of the Sunnis, to refer to them succinctly and then to point out the chief differences in the accepted Shiite positions.

The Foundations of Shiism

The foundations of Islam as accepted by those of the Sunni faith are usually listed as four: the Qur'ān; the Sunna or traditions; Ijma, or agreement, and Qiyās, or reason. Under these divisions the position of the *Ithnā 'Asharīya* is:

The Qur'ān

With the Sunnis the Shias recognize the Qur'ān as the first foundation in their religion and they hold it in highest reverence. However, the Shias make certain claims that must be noted to understand the real place that the Qur'ān has among them.

1. In the recensions of the Qur'ān made under Abū Bakr and 'Uthmān, a procedure which really saved the Qur'ān, Shias accuse the *Khulafā* and especially 'Uthmān with having altered the text by changing words, and by omitting verses and one full chapter which had especial reference to the rights of 'Ali and the Imams of his family. The Sūra which is said to have been omitted is known as *Surat al Nurain*, the Sura of the Two Lights, meaning of course Muḥammad and 'Ali.[2] It has been carefully studied by scholars and the consensus of opinion is that it is a forgery and a poor imitation at that. A manuscript of a Qur'ān which

[1] Lammens, H. S. J., Islam, Beliefs and Institutions, p. 147.
[2] Mohsin Fani, *op. cit.*, pp. 315, 328 ff.; Tisdall, W. St. C., Mos. World III: pp. 227/41; Sell, Studies in Islam, pp. 246/51.

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is said to include these omitted and altered passages was discovered in Bankipore, India, in June 1912. It is said to have been purchased from a *nawāb*, and to be some two to three hundred years old. It is in the library at Patna, Bihar.

2. 'Ali is said to have had a copy of the Qur'ān on the margins and pages of which he had made notes growing out of his conversations with Muḥammad. Following the Prophet's death he read this to the Companions, who would not accept it. Knowing 'Uthmān's adverse attitude toward it, he refused to turn his copy in when the *khalīfa* demanded it, but announced to him that his copy would remain with him and his family, to disappear with the twelfth Imām when he would be concealed. In the meantime he advised his followers to accept the recension of 'Uthmān as the authentic version. The Shias insist that the parts altered or omitted are known to the Imams and when the Mahdī al Qa'im will appear he will establish the complete Qur'ān among all Muslims.

3. The Shi'ite creed reads :

> " Our belief concerning the Quran is that it is the Word (*kalam*) of Allah, and His revelation, sent down by Him, His speech and His Book. . . . Verily, Allah, Blessed and Exalted is He above all, *is its Creator* and Revealer and Master and Protector and Utterer."[1]

Here is the most important departure from the orthodox position regarding the Qur'ān, which declares it to be 'uncreate and eternal', while the Shī'a declare the Qur'ān to be created. This, Donaldson rightly says, is " a stroke at the foundation of Islam," for it removes the stability that a foundation needs. To the Sunni the ' created ' Qur'ān is extreme heresy, and the decree of the *khalifa* al Ma'mun declaring the Qur'ān to be created, was bitterly resisted by Sunni divines.

4. Shiism insists that there is an inner (*bāṭin*) or hidden meaning in what is written, as well as the apparent (*ẓāhir*) meaning which is known fully and only to the Imam. Because of this position the Shias are sometimes called the ' *Baṭinīya* '. By this principle it has been possible to establish Quranic sanction for many positions at variance with orthodox exegesis. The fallibility of a created Qur'ān, together with the possibility of the allegorical explanation of its meaning, makes it necessary to have an authoritative guide—and this the Shias have in their Imām of

[1] Fyzee, *op. cit.*, 84/85. (Italics mine.)

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the age. In accordance with this need Shias require their own commentaries. The Shī'a school of theology at Lucknow, through A. F. Badshah Husain, has published a translation of the Qur'ān in English, together with its commentary.

The Sunna

Until the time of Muḥammad, the word *Sunna* denoted the practices of antiquity. After his death it came to be used by Muslims "to denote the practice of the Prophet and his immediate successors." Inasmuch as he is believed to have been divinely guided in every detail of his life, his example, his teachings and even his silent approbations have become accepted rules for every Muslim. Recollections of these are severally known as a tradition or *hadīth*; a collection of traditions as a *musnad*. All traditions are classified as genuine, good or weak, according to the reputations of the persons who have narrated, or guaranteed them. The chain of guarantors is known as an *isnād* while the text of the tradition is called the *matn*. The traditionists of the Hejaz are reported to have received traditions only "from the mouths of upright and virtuous men, gifted with good memories." When we remember that the gathering of traditions did not start until many years after the Prophet's death, the need of these qualities is very evident.

Causes came to be strengthened in direct proportion to the genuineness of their supporting traditions. The search for traditions thus assumed great importance, for their codification could be controlled in a way to emphasize selected points of view. Mu'āwiya I ordered traditions favourable to the house of 'Ali to be suppressed, and others extolling 'Uthmān to be searched for. Diligent search usually created its supply. Al Zuhri said of the Umaiyads "these princes have compelled us to write hadiths."

The first collection of traditions is said to have been made during the reign of 'Umar II, A.H. 99–101, but no collection from the Umaiyad period is extant. The accepted canonical collections of the Sunnis were made during the period of the Abbasids. The prodigious work involved is suggested when we read that Bukhārī is said to have collected 600,000 traditions, of which he approved 7,275. Sunni Islam recognizes six collections, the earliest of which was made approximately two hundred years after Muḥammad's death.

Many traditions in these collections are favourable to 'Ali and

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his family. But as friction between the two communities increased, the Shī'a built up their own collections, based not on the Companions whose authority they reject, but on the family of the Prophet, the Imams. The recognized collections are :

Uṣūl al Kāfī, by Muḥammad ibn Ya'qūb al Kulaini, d. A.H. 329.
Man la yaḥḍuruh al Faqīh, by Muḥammad ibn 'Ali ibn Bābawaihi al Qummī, or Al Ṣadūq, d. A.H. 406.
Al Tahdhīb al Ahkām, by Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan al Ṭūsī, d. A.H. 406.
Al Istibsār, also by Al Ṭūsī.

These are known collectively as *al Kutub al arba'a*, the four books; or *al Uṣūl al arba'a*, the four principles. Besides these two others are of very high standing also,

Nahj al Balāghah, by Sayyid al Raḍī.
Biḥār al Anwār, by Muḥammad Bāqir al Majlisī.

The Shias often call traditions *akhbār* instead of *ḥadīth*. Inasmuch as the Imams are in the line of succession of 'Ali and the Prophet, and possess the same light that he had, a genuine tradition needs only to be traced to one of the Imams. Thus, although the earliest Shi'ite collection of traditions is dated at least seventy-five years later than the earliest Sunni collection, it is nearer in time to the Imams than the 200 years that separate the earliest Sunni collection from the time of the Prophet.

A name which frequently recurs among the guarantors of Shiite traditions, reporting directly from the Prophet, and especially traditions of 'Ali and his family, is that of Salmān al Fārsī. In view of his unique position it seems best at this point to say something about him. Notwithstanding we read in the Encyclopædia of Islam that " the historical personality of Salmān is of the vaguest " and it is difficult to be sure that he was even a converted slave, there is no doubt that he lived.[1] He has been accepted by an astonishingly wide circle of sects. The Manichæans appropriate him as a saint through whom their " Gospel of Seventy " was received ;[2] on the strength of a testament, *ahd nāma*, of the Khalīfa 'Ali, the Parsis have sought to establish his identity with the Nestorian monk Bahira ;[3] he is the third member of the Trinity of the Nusairis, in which he forms the *Bāb*, with 'Ali and Muḥammad as the other two members ;[4] among the 'Ali Ilāhis,

[1] Donaldson, D. M., Salman the Persian, Mos. W., XIX 338/352.
[2] Ivanow, W., Ismailitica, p. 11, n. 45.
[3] Is. Cul., Jan. 1943, p. 103.
[4] Browne, I., 203/4.

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he is identified with the Creator of the world ;[1] all Muslims consider him to be one of the most revered Companions of the Prophet, in which group he was the only Persian. He also appears as a founder of Sufism,[2] and he is one of the four men whom the Prophet was commanded to love.[3]

Salmān al Fārsi has become the prototype of Persian converts, and the hero of Muslim Persia. The Prophet is said to have told him that the Persians would become the better part of the Muslim community. Of him he said, " Salman is one of our family," and in this way his annuity was equal to that given to Ḥasan and Ḥusain. He came into prominence as the engineer at whose suggestion the *khandaq*, or trench, was built for the defence of Medina. He was a special *confidante* of the Prophet and hence the value of his traditions. His associations with 'Ali were very close, and when 'Ali took the oath of allegiance to Abū Bakr he forbade Salmān to do so.

> When 'Omar having grasped the collar of 'Ali was dragging him to swear allegiance, some one of the adversaries came forth and began to abuse Salman, saying : ' How comes it that the person, about whom thou tellest all these (stories) and to whom thou ascribest such extraordinary qualities, is now dragged in such humility to take an oath of allegiance to Abu-Bakr ? ' Salman in reply said : ' If he liked, he could make this that and that this,' pointing at the same time to the earth and the sky. But the Prince, having looked upon him angrily, said : ' One must not say everything he knows.' But when 'Omar grasped the collar of Salman and dragged him with all the Persians to take the oath, the Prince came and freed him from the hands of 'Omar and did not permit this.[4]

Salmān probably died in 'Uthmān's *khilāfat*, but so legendary a person was he that some enthusiasts credit him with living to an extreme age of 200, 300, 350 or even 553 years. His tomb at al Medain became a centre of pilgrimage at an early date, but the sepulchral mosque was restored as recently as 1322/1904.

The Imamate

Ibn Khaldun, speaking for the Sunni viewpoint, says :

> It is an error of the Imamis to pretend that the Imamat is one of the pillars of religion ; it is in reality only an office

[1] Ivanow, *op. cit.*, p. 12, n. 49.
[2] E.I., Salman.
[3] Al Suyuti, *op. cit.*, p. 173.
[4] Ivanow, W., Ismailitica, pp. 40/41.

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instituted for the general good. If it had been a pillar of religion the Prophet would have delegated it to some one.[1]

With the Shī'a the Imamate *is* " a pillar of religion," a unit in the foundation no less important than the Qur'ān and the Sunna, without which Islam would vanish. We have already seen how, at Ghadīr Khum, and in other ways, the Prophet, acting under divine mandate, designated 'Ali and his descendants to a continuing authority, competent to do through the years what he had done while living. Because this is the doctrine that is supremely Shiite in character, it takes its place as the third foundation in Shiite Islam.

The word Imam is derived from an Arabic word meaning " to precede," or to lead, and was particularly used for the caravan leader at the head of a column of camels. In the Qur'ān the word is found in the " meaning of example, leader, pattern, model or prototype."[2] Syed Ameer Ali says the word " means primarily an exemplar, or one whose example ought to be imitated."[3] Historically the word Imam has always been used for the person who leads in public prayer, indicating to those behind him the ritual movements of each *rak'a* in the prescribed prayers. Originally this function was performed by the Prophet himself, or by a person designated by him. In later years the *khulafā*, or their deputies, performed this duty and thus claimed for themselves the spiritual leadership inherent in their office. Every mosque has its Imam, and a large one will have more than one. Among Sunnis moral quality in this office, is not necessary. " Prayer is allowable behind anyone whether pure or a sinner."[4] The title Imam has also been given to the heads of the four legal schools among the Sunnis. The Creed of Najm al Dīn Abū Hafs al Nasafī sets forth the orthodox Sunni position in these words :

> The Muslims cannot do without a leader (Imam) . . . And it is necessary that the leader should be visible, not hidden and expected to appear (muntazar), and that he should be of the tribe of Quraysh and not of any other. And he is not assigned exclusively to the sons of Hashim nor to the children of Ali. And it is not a condition that he should be protected by God from sin (isma), nor that he should be the most excellent of the people of his time, but it is a condition that he should have administrative ability, should be a good governor and be able

[1] Sell, Canon, The Faith of Islam, p. 138.
[2] Huart, C., EI, Imam.
[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 317.
[4] Macdonald, *op. cit.*, from the creed of Al Nasafi, p. 314.

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> to carry out decrees and to guard the restrictive ordinances (hadds) of Islam and to protect the wronged against him who wrongs him. And he is not to be deposed from the leadership on account of immorality or tyranny.[1]

Al Mawardi in his *Al Aḥkām al Sulṭanīyah*, which is " the most authoritative exposition of the Sunni political theory," corroborates the fact that an Imām who has been duly elected " cannot be displaced in favour of a worthier candidate."[2]

In their insistence that a leader, or Imām, is necessary, the Sunnis and the Shias agree. The Kharijites denied the necessity, but allowed an Imam. Mutazilites and Zaidites agreed that "the necessity was based on reason " and that he should be elected, or appointed by man. The Sunnis hold that he can be appointed or elected only by agreement of the Muslim community, and in obedience to this principle, as long as the Ottoman *Khilāfat* continued, the spiritual authority of the *khalīfa* was given by solemn vote of the 'Ulama in Constantinople as representing the whole Muslim community. Among the Shī'a the recognition of the Imam of the Age is of supreme importance to every individual, and an essential part of the Shi'ite faith. Concluding his statement on the proofs which vindicate the Imamate as having been established on the authority of God and the Apostle, Majlisī says:

> It is clear that after the matter of prophecy itself our faith has had no other such real need as for an Imam. Muslims have required of God no other such favour as the existence of an Imam, for if there were no Imam, in a short time there would be no influence left in the Faith, and it would disappear entirely. Without an Imam the faith and conditions of Muslims everywhere would be left incomplete and in disorder. If God, therefore, had not appointed the Imam, if God had not sanctioned the Imamate, it would have been the same as withdrawing the influence of his Prophet from the world, and in that case both the Faith and God's favour would have been incomplete.[3]

The perfect religion had been revealed through the Prophet, but it could only come to its potential perfection under the careful nurture that was yet to be provided through a *waṣi*, who would be an executor or successor to him. Nor was such a provision by God for continuing the work of his Prophet something new:

> Our belief . . . is that in all there have been one hundred

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 313/314.
[2] Is. Cul. XI, p. 291.
[3] Donaldson, D. M. The Shi'ite Religion, 318/19.

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> and twenty four thousand prophets and a like number of *awṣiya*. Each *nabi* had a *waṣi* to whom he gave instructions by the command of Allah and concerning them we believe that they brought the truth from Allah, that their word is the word of Allah, that their command is the command of Allah, that obedience to them is obedience to Allah.[1]

Some examples of earlier *awṣiya* are: Seth succeeding Adam, Joshua after Moses, Asaph after Solomon and Simon after Christ. The *waṣi* differs from the Imām in that he had the privilege of intimate contact and instruction from the Prophet, but his powers after the Prophet's death are like those of the Imams. The distinctive feature in the designation of 'Ali is the principle of hereditary succession in his family.

The world has never been and can never be without an Imām, a living representative of God, also called his Proof, or *Ḥujjat*, whether manifest or hidden, for without such an Imam on the earth, " verily the earth itself would collapse with all those who dwell upon it, . . . and . . . there will be no worship of God."[2] We thus see that the Imam is not only a spiritual guide but that he has a vital relation to the universe. It is for this reason that God with such amazing prescience selected a light ray and through four thousand years prepared Muḥammad and 'Ali for their respective tasks.

It is through the Imām that men will be saved,

> Through us on the Day of Judgment, the Shiites will approach Paradise with their faces and hands and feet pure white, as though they had been washed with light. As the leaders of the faithful we will save the people of the Earth from the wrath of God.[3]

So long as the Imams remain on the earth judgment will not come. This then is the opportunity. If out of seventy-three sects which the Prophet foretold only one will be saved, it is very necessary that every person know which sect that one sect is. Since the Imām, through the Prophet, and directly, is God's representative, it is only through him that God can be known. " Who does not know his Imām does not know God."[4] There is no other way. This is the way the Shiite Creed puts it:

> Our belief regarding them is that they are in authority (*ūlū'l-amr*). It is to them that Allah has ordained obedience,

[1] Fyzee, *op. cit.*, 92/93.
[2] Donaldson, *op. cit.*, 310.
[3] *Ibid.*, 309.
[4] Shihabu'd Din, *op. cit.*, 35.

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> they are the witnesses for the people and they are the gates of Allah (*abwāb*) and the road (*sabīl*) to Him and the guides (*dalīl*, pl. *adilla*) thereto, and the repositories of His knowledge and the interpreters of His revelations and the pillars of His unity (*tawḥid*). They are immune from sins (*khaṭa*) and errors (*zalal*) ; they are those from whom " Allah has removed all impurity and made them absolutely pure " ; they are possessed of (the power of) miracles and of (irrefutable) arguments (*dalā'il*) ; and they are for the protection of the people of this earth just as the stars are for the inhabitants of the heavens. They may be likened, in this community, to the Ark of Noah ; he who boards it obtains salvation or reaches the Gate of Repentance (*hiṭṭa*).[1]

It is most important that every person recognize the Imām of the Age, for should one die not having this knowledge he dies the death of an unbeliever. But to know the Imām will also mean to show devotion to 'Ali and to revere and to obey his family, and to repudiate their opponents.[2] Since the Imamate has such significance for every true Muslim, it is necessary that the election of the Imam be not entrusted to men, but that he be clearly designated by God, through the Prophet, or through 'Ali, or a succeeding Imam. This designation is called *naṣṣ* and the person designated is said to be *manṣūṣ*. 'Ali was designated by Muḥammad and each succeeding Imam has been designated by his predecessor. This designation has usually followed the line of primogeniture but it does not need to do so.

The sinlessness, *'isma*, of the Imams constitutes a main reason for their being designated by God, for as Majlisi writes :

> The sinlessness of an Imam cannot be known, however, unless he has received divine appointment and has been designated to his office by the word of his Prophet. It is not something to be noted in external appearance, something that can be seen, like black, or white or such qualities. Sinlessness is rather a hidden virtue which can be recognized only by announcement from God, who knows all that is concealed.[3]

The proofs for this belief are given by Majlisi. Al Qummi makes this further statement :

> Our belief concerning the Prophets, apostles, Imams and angels is that they are infallible (*ma'ṣum*) ; purified from all defilement, and that they do not commit any sin, whether it be minor (*saghīra*) or major (*kabīra*). They do not disobey

[1] Fyzee, *op. cit.*, 96.
[2] Badshah Husain, A. F., Islam in the Light of Shiaism, 59.
[3] Donaldson, *op. cit.*, pp. 322/323.

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> Allah in what he has commanded them ; they act in accordance with His behests. He who denies infallibility to them in any matter appertaining to their status is ignorant of them and such a one is a *kāfir* (unbeliever).
> Our belief concerning them is that they are infallible and possess the attributes of perfection, completeness and knowledge, from the beginning to the end of their careers. Defects cannot be attributed to them, nor disobedience, nor ignorance, in any of their actions.[1]

Majlisi gives this statement on this important dogma :

> Know that all Shiah scholars are agreed that the Imam is free from all sins, whether great or small, from the beginning of his life until the end, and whether intentional or accidental. No one has objected to this teaching except Ibn Babawaihi and his teacher Muhammad ibn Walid. They considered that it was permissible to believe that before his appointment to the Imamate it was possible that a man should make mistakes. For example, he might slip up in his prayers, or in the observance of some of the forms of worship or commands of the faith, for in this they do not allow the possibility of any sort of error.[2]

In keeping with this dogma, fourteen persons are considered as sinless or *ma'ṣum* : Muḥammad, Fāṭima and the twelve Imams. The reader will find an excellent discussion of the origin of this dogma in Dr. Donaldson's book.[3] It is believed to have been developed during the historical Imamate of the Twelvers, i.e., before A.H. 260 ; it may be as early as the imamate of Ja'far al Ṣādiq. Its basis is found in the Qur'ān, Sura II : 118 : "When His Lord made trial of Abraham by commands which he fulfilled, He said : 'I am about to make thee an Imam to mankind :' he said : 'of my offspring also :' 'My covenant' said God, 'embraceth not evil doers.'" (Rodwell.) This verse is taken as proof that Abraham with whom God was then covenanting was sinless, and if for Abraham then the argument holds for His *waṣī* and for other Imams who are their legitimately appointed successors. The Qur'ān does not elsewhere support this teaching of the sinlessness of Prophets, not even of Muḥammad, but rather mentions sins that they have committed.

> In the collections of canonical traditions there is no trace of the impeccability of the Prophets ; on the contrary, several of them are connected with grave sins ; Adam is the father

[1] Fyzee, *op. cit.*, pp. 99/100.
[2] Donaldson, *op. cit.*, p. 322.
[3] *Ibid.*, XXXI.

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> of all murder; Abraham did not shun lying; Moses committed man slaughter, and so on. Muhammad, it is true, is opposed to them in this respect and this distinction is the ground of his principle of intercession. Yet the dogma of Muhammad's impeccability is never mentioned explicity in canonical *hadith*.[1]

The relatively late origin of this dogma is suggested also by prayers of the Imams in many of which there are references to themselves as repenting sinners. So also in a prayer of "Caliph 'Ali" which "evinces the highest devotional spirit," we read:

> Thou art the Helper, I am the beseecher; Thou, my Lord, art my Refuge; *Thou art the Forgiver, I am the sinner;* Thou, my Lord, art the Merciful, All-knowing, All-loving, I am groping in the dark; I seek thy knowledge and love. Bestow, my Lord, all thy knowledge and love and mercy; *forgive my sins, O my Lord,* and let me approach Thee, my Lord.[2]

From the historical standpoint, it is probable that 'orthodox' Islam accepted this dogma for the Prophet from the Shiite theology. Wensinck dates that acceptance as not later than the tenth century A.D. "It is applied in unlimited fashion to Muḥammad only in opposition to his own judgment."[3]

It may be noted in passing that in this prayer quoted above there is no mention of "the family," while in the prayers of Zain al 'Abidīn the family is frequently mentioned. At a later period the prayer names each Imam separately. In keeping with their sinlessness, the Imams share with the Prophet the privilege of intercession for their followers. They are, in fact, "the true intercessors for mankind."[4]

Ijma'

By *ijma'* is meant the principle of agreement among Muslims giving authority to a certain legal procedure. This may, at times, mean the unanimous consent of the leading theologians, somewhat comparable to a meeting of 'church fathers.' This principle is based on the oft-quoted tradition that Muḥammad said: "My people will not unite over error." Because of this method, Islam has been spoken of as being democratic in its organization.

[1] Wensinck, A. J., The Muslim Creed, pp. 217/218.
[2] Ameer Ali, *op. cit.*, p. 163. (Italics mine.)
[3] Goldziher, I., Isma, EI.
[4] Donaldson, *op. cit.*, p. 343; also XXXI.

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THE RELIGION OF THE ITHNA 'ASHARIYA—I

Qiyās

Qiyās, or analogy, is the arriving at a decision by reasoning, from other situations, in which approved decisions have previously been rendered. *Qiyās* is used only after *Qur'ān*, *sunna* and *ijma'* have not provided a sufficient basis for decision, but no decision by *qiyās* is valid that is contrary to those three.

A decision based on *qiyās* is known as an *ijtihād*, or *fatwā*. Iqbāl, speaking of *ijtihād* as " the principle of movement in the structure of Islam," writes :

> The word literally means to exert. In the terminology of Islamic law it meant to exert with a view to form an independent judgment on a legal question. The idea, I believe, has its origin in a well-known verse of the Quran—' and to those who exert we show our path.'[1]

The person who pronounces an *ijtihād* is a *mujtahid*, which is the highest rank of a Muslim theologian.

With the passage of time, not only traditions, but the legal decisions of *khulafā* and mujtahids were codified. Thus arose four schools of recognized jurisprudence known by the names of the mujtahids, or imams who built them up, Abū Ḥanīfa, Mālik ibn Anās, Muḥammad al Shāfi' and Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal. With these four Imams the *Bāb al Ijtihād*, or gate of endeavour, was closed. Among Sunnis no new fatwas or decisions have been valid since their time. Sunnism, therefore, has no mujtahids. All judgments in law must be laid down in accordance with principles of one or the other of these four schools.

Shiism rejects *ijma'* and *qiyās* for it considers that in the Imamate it has a better procedure. Just as these had no place during the life of Muḥammad since he settled all questions by virtue of his authority as Prophet, so the Imam of the Age, his designated successor who possesses the esoteric knowledge and infallible authority to interpret the religion Muḥammad promulgated, is entirely competent to make all decisions when questions arise. Shiism, therefore, still has its mujtahids, but they speak not of themselves but being in touch with the living Imam, though he may be concealed, pronounce his decision. Through them the Imam continues to guide his people. This is true even in established governments, the outstanding example of which is Persia, where Shiism has been established as the state religion from the beginning of the sixteenth century. The title of the

[1] The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, pp. 141 ff.

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Safavian dynasty was " slaves of the Lord of the Country," i.e., the Hidden Imam. Here, and among the Shias elsewhere, legal authority still rests with the mujtahids, who make the decisions and pronounce fatwas in answer to questions of their followers and for their guidance.

Mujtahids must pass comprehensive courses of study in theology, law and other subjects. Allāma Sayyid Ali al Hairi of Lahore, took his training in 'Irāq from His Holiness the Mujtahid-i-Azam-i-Iraq, receiving the Degree in Ijtihad, and also holds degrees from several *'Ulamā*. His reputation as a *mujtahid* is widespread. It is customary for Shias to select a *mujtahid* and to place themselves under his *taqlīd*, authority, becoming his muqallids, followers. Allāma Sayyid al Hairi has many muqallids. The *mujtahid* is competent to give real decisions. Al Hairi's fatwas, or ijtihads, have been sent throughout India and to Tibet and Africa. In addition to decisions of a distinctly religious nature, he has given ijtihads on subjects like these :

The Political Agitation and our attitude towards it.
Against the treacherous unjustified war waged by Amir of Afghanistan in 1919.
The Khilafat Movement and our Shiah Sect.
Census and Shiah Sect under the Benign British Government.
Co-operation with the Royal Commission of Feb. 1928.
The Civil Disobedience and our Shiah Sect.
Verdict in connection with the Height of Tazias and Electric Wires.[1]

No subject is excluded from the field in which a *mujtahid* may render a decision. It would seem that this right to form present-day judgments would give to Shias a freedom of adjustment to changing situations that the Sunnis lack. An illustration comes to hand from the topic we have just left, *'isma* of Prophet and Imam. The authority of the Imam to pronounce traditions as well as his knowledge made it possible for the Shi'a to adopt this dogma several centuries before the larger community which depended on the process of *ijma'*. In spite of this, Shiism is to a large degree in the grip of the past even as are the Sunnis. The Ithna Asharis, or Twelvers, are divided " into two sub-sects," Usulis and Akhbaris, i.e. " the followers of principles and the followers of traditions " differing in regard to the authority the decisions of mujtahids should have as the representatives of the Concealed Imam.

[1] Pamphlet, A Brief History with Credentials.

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THE RELIGION OF THE ITHNA 'ASHARIYA—I

The Usulis carry on to a certain extent the tradition of the Mutazilites using rules which they had adopted for judging traditions, and insisting on the right of the individual to use his own judgment and reason, *ra'i*.

> The *Usuli* repudiates entirely the authority of the expounders of the law to fetter his judgment, and (will) not be guided by the dictates of men as fallible as himself, and interested in maintaining the world in ignorance.—God's teachings delivered through his messengers do not require the interpretations of priest or lawyer.
>
> According to *Usuli* doctrines, the oral precepts of the Prophet (i.e. the Sunnah) are in their nature supplementary to the Koranic ordinances, and their binding effect depends on their degree of harmony existing between them and the teachings of the Koran. . . .
>
> The Usuli . . . does not consider himself bound to follow the exposition of a Mujtahid, if his judgment and conscience tell him that that exposition is against the revealed or natural law, or justice or reason. They protest against the immoderate number of traditions accepted by the *Akhbaris* without any criticism, or any application of the rules of exigesis. The *Usulis* represent the Broad Church, if not of Islam at least of Shiahism.
>
> According to the Dabistan, the Akhbaris derive their title from the fact that they rely entirely upon *Akhbar* or traditions, and repudiate *ijtihad* (the exercise of private judgment), as they consider it contrary to the practice of the Imam. They accept as authentic whatever tradition happens to be current if only it is labelled with the name of the Imam or the Prophet. It is enough if it is called a *hadis*. . . . *Akhbarism* is a favourite creed of the uneducated who require a leading string for their guidance or of the half-educated Mullas. *Usulism* finds acceptance among the most intellectual classes of people and the most learned of the clergy.[1]

The Akhbari school almost excludes esoteric and allegorical interpretations which are so characteristic of Shiism.[2]

[1] Ameer Ali, *op. cit.*, pp. 346/39.
[2] Nizam al Din, M., Ni'mat 'Uzma of Ni'mat Khan-i-Ali, Is. Cul., XIV, 178/195.

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CHAPTER IV

THE RELIGION OF THE ITHNA 'ASHARIYA, II

A. Doctrines

A GREAT Shiite Mujtahid, His Holiness Hujjat al Islam Allāma Agha Mirza Abdul Karim Zanjani, of Najaf, urging the unity of Islam, has said :

> All Shiahs and Sunnis have unshaken faith in (1) God, (2) the Angels, (3) the Books, (4) the Prophet, (5) the Day of Judgment, (6) Taqdeer, (measurement of good and evil in the knowledge of the Omnipotent), (7) the Hereafter, or Life after death.[1]

The list is essentially that given by others as The Articles of Faith, or the *Uṣūl al Dīn* of Islam. In *Islam in the Light of Shiaism* another Shiite scholar enumerates some "main differences between Shias and Sunnis on . . . essential points of religion" because it is "a pity that even on coming to Islam all should not be able to come to the right path."[2] We indicate here only a few major differences in the Shiite belief covered in these Articles of Faith, dealing with them under two heads only, God and the Prophet, since some differences, especially in *taqdir*, are included under these.

God

1. Shias emphasize God's grace in dealing with man. To sense the difference in the teaching of the two groups, one need only remember sentences like these, accepted by the Sunnis :

> God leadeth astray whom He wills and guideth aright whom He wills, and it is not incumbent upon God Most High to do that which may be best (aslah) for the creature.[3]
> And whom God shall please to guide, that man's breast will He open to Islam ; but whom He shall please to mislead, straight and narrow will He make His breast. (Sura VI 125, Rodwell.) If all the infidels became believers He would gain no advantage ; if all believers became infidels He would suffer no loss.[4]

[1] Zanjani, M. A. K., The Unity of Islam, pp. 134/139.
[2] Badshah Husain, *op. cit.*, p. 77.
[3] Macdonald, *op. cit.*, p. 311, from Creed of al Nasafi.
[4] Sell, Canon, The Faith of Islam, p. 229.

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THE RELIGION OF THE ITHNA 'ASHARIYA—II

The first proof that Majlisi offers for the Imamate is " From the Kindness of God . . . for obviously God will do that which is best in behalf of his servants,"[1] or in other words, man's need for a guide to take him to God is God's reason for providing an Imam for man.

> By grace is understood that action on the part of God which would help to bring His creatures nearer to His devotion and obedience and facilitate their moral correction, (which is) morally incumbent on Him.[2]
> Allah . . . has commanded us to be just, while He himself treats us with something better, namely grace, *tafaḍḍal*. . . . Justice, *al-'adl*, means that he requites a good act with a good act and an evil act with an evil act. The Prophet said :
> No man ever enters Paradise by virtue of his (good) actions (alone), except by the mercy of Allah.[3]

2. The Shias deny God's predestination, *taqdīr*, blind fatalism, which the Sunnis have expressed in this way :

> And God most high is the Creator of all actions of His creatures, whether of unbelief or belief, of obedience or rebellion ; all of them are by the will of God and His sentence and His conclusion and His decreeing.[4]

This orthodox position has been strongly interpreted by Al Ghazali :

> No act of any individual, even though it be done purely for his benefit, is independent of the will of Allah for its existence; and there does not occur in either the physical or the extra-terrestrial world the wink of an eye, the hint of a thought, or the most sudden glance, except by the decree of Allah, . . . of His power, desire and will. This includes evil and good, benefit and hurt, success and failure, sin and righteousness, obedience and disobedience, polytheism and true belief.[5]

If an orthodox Muslim seeks for freedom from such rigid determinism in some of the few verses of the Qur'ān which seem to leave to man the power to choose ; such as, " Say : the Truth is from your Lord, he that wishes, let him believe ; and he that wishes, let him disbelieve ; " he finds that Baidāwi, his commentator, has recorded this comment on the verse : " for even what he wills is not his own will."[6] Shias accept freedom of will, and man's *qadr*, power, over his own actions.

[1] Donaldson, *op. cit.*, p. 307.
[2] Badshah Husain, *op. cit.*, p. 29.
[3] Fyzee, *op. cit.*, pp. 70/71.
[4] Macdonald, *op. cit.*, p. 310, from Creed of Al Nasafi.
[5] Unethical Influences, Bul. H.M.S. XXXII, July/Sept. 1944, p. 6.
[6] *Ibid.*

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> Allah possesses foreknowledge of human actions, but does not compel mankind to act in any particular manner . . . and the meaning of this is that Allah has never ceased to be aware of the potentialities of human beings. . . . when Allah will collect the slaves on the Day of Resurrection, He will ask them concerning what He had enjoined on them and will not question them concerning what he had destined for them.[1]

3. While the Sunnis hold that—

> nothing is good or evil by itself—only what God has commanded us is good, what He has forbidden is evil—the Shias, on the other hand, hold that irrespective of religious commandments there is real merit or demerit in different courses of action, and it is because a certain thing is good that God commands it, and because the other is bad that He forbids it.[2]

4. Another point of difference is that according to the Shias God never acts aimlessly (that is, without design). All his actions are based on wisdom and intelligible purpose.[3]

5. In a somewhat different category is another distinction which to many may seem academic, but to the Muslims is of very great importance. This concerns the Vision of God, or the Beatific Vision, which all Sunni scholastic philosophers consider

> the *summum bonum* of life under the Islamic dispensation. The people of the Sunnah have held that God will be seen in the next world with physical eyes in the same way as the full moon is seen.[4]

To the Mutazilite, this seemed an anthropomorphism which should be purged from the Qur'ān. The Shias, following the Mutazilites, have discarded the idea of a physical vision, and agreed that God will not be seen with physical eyes, either in this world or the next. " Human eyes will not behold Him," is the direct way in which the Creed expresses it, but Shias agree that He will be seen with the eye of the mind, that is, through the heart. It is difficult to realize how bitter the discussion was on this subject. Some idea is gained by reading that the Khalifa Al Wathik, after an incipient rebellion, required of exchanged prisoners that they should deny that they would see God on the Last Day with their eyes.[5]

[1] Fyzee, *op. cit.*, pp. 31, 32, 36.
[2] Badshah Husain, *op. cit.*, p. 25.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 26.
[4] Subhan, Abdus, Mutazilite View on Beatific Vision, Is. Cul., XV, p. 423.
[5] Nicholson, R. A., A Literary History of the Arabs, pp. 369/370.

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THE RELIGION OF THE ITHNA 'ASHARIYA—II

Prophet

In regard to the Prophet the *Ithnā 'Asharīya*, like the Sunnis, accept Muḥammad as a prophet, and describe him as the last of the Prophets. Those who desire to minimize the differences in Islam would leave it there, but unfortunately Shiism has not been satisfied to do that. Haidari, in his translation of *Al Nubuwwat wa'l Khilafat*, says :

> The true successors of the Prophet are undoubtedly equal in rank to the former prophets, rather they are superior to them and are quite efficient to perform the duties of this high post as vicegerents of the Prophet. But none of these was a prophet, nor did any of them claim himself to be such. All of them were Imams (guides) of the people and the vicegerents of the Prophet.[1]

This, when analysed, if it does not raise questions, does seem to be an ambiguous statement of the Shiite position. There were in the development of the dogma of the Imamate conflicting tendencies. As a result of these, we find that early sub-sects, like the Hāshimīya, for example, maintained the superior position of the Imams by insisting that they were pure, while the Prophets could sin.

But among the conservative wing there are indications of stages by which the Imams have been steadily lifted to a position that might be considered higher than that of the Prophet. In the first stage, the Imam was brought to a level with the Prophet, being linked with him in repeated situations:

(1) Allah did not create any created thing more excellent than Muhammad *and the* Imams.

(2) Allah . . . created the whole of creation for him (the Prophet) *and* for the people of *his house*, and that but for *them* . . .

(3) Our belief is that after his Prophet . . . the proofs of Allah for the people are the Twelve Imams.

(4) Our belief concerning the prophets . . . *and* Imams is that they are more excellent than the angels.[2] (Among the Sunnis only Prophets are superior to angels.)

(5) The office of the Imam is like that of the Prophet in that *each has* the function of *complete authority* over all the followers of the faith in matters of religion and of the state.[3]

[1] Hasan, Sd. Najmul, Al Nubuwwat wa'l Khilafat, Tr. by Haidari, L.A.
[2] Fyzee, *op. cit.*, pp. 94, 95, 89. (Italics mine.)
[3] Donaldson, *op. cit.*, p. 316. (Italics mine.)

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This process of glorifying the Imams by linking them with the Prophet displaced him from the supreme and solitary position which he had held, even though the Shias still call him the "leader and the most excellent of the Prophets,"[1] for by increasing the number who share the distinctive attributes of Prophethood, the glory which belonged to one has been diluted to commonness among many. Thus, where among the Sunnis the Prophet was superior to angels, we find among the Shī'a that "Prophets and Apostles and Imams are all more excellent than angels."[2] And in sinlessness, which the orthodox were so late in accepting for the Prophet, and still apply only to Prophets, he is numbered with the angels who are sinless, and 124,000 prophets, for, to the Shī'a all these together with "apostles, imams, angels . . . are infallible (ma'ṣūm)."[3]

The process of developing a superior position for the Imam was continued: (1) in the early adoption of the dogma of sinlessness for the Imams, which was applied *later* to the Prophet; (2) by explaining that the same verse in the Qur'ān (Sura II : 118) which supported the above dogma, also gave rise to traditions suggesting definitely that the degree of Imam is higher than that of Prophet, since God appointed Abraham to the office of Imam *after* he had been long a prophet; (3) then, in the passage quoted early in this discussion from Haidari, we find that the imams are "undoubtedly *equal* in rank *to the former prophets, rather they are superior to them*"—a step which once taken makes the further step of considering them superior to all prophets easy.

This uncertainty now reached as to whether the Imam or the Prophet was superior was noticed by theologians. One of these, Majlisi, sought to remove the confusion. To maintain the Prophet's superiority it was first suggested that he spoke "from God without the mediation of any man" while the Imam spoke "by the mediation of the prophet."[4] Majlisi rightly discards that distinction as inadequate since Imams also learn from God directly. He also discusses a difference of degrees of prophethood without any satisfactory conclusion.[5] Mujtaba Ali would seem to be correct when he says "the whole of Shiism is based on the assumption that prophecy has not ended"[6] with Muḥammad, but is in fact, a continuing function of the Imams.

[1] Fyzee, *op. cit.*, p. 93.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 91.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 101/102.
[4] Donaldson, *op. cit.*, p. 306.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 326/327.
[6] Mujtaba Ali, The Origin of the Khojas, p. 2.

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THE RELIGION OF THE ITHNA 'ASHARIYA—II

The Mahdī

An essential part of the Shiite creed, omitted by the *Mujtahid* when he wished to stress ' unity ' in Islam, is the belief in *al Mahdī*. Among the Sunnis the *Mahdī* remains a part of their eschatology, for he will only come in the End of Time, and will be a restorer.

> The world will not come to an end until a man of my tribe and of my kindred shall be Master of Arabia.
>
> When you see black ensigns coming from the direction of Khorasan, then join them, for the Imam of God will be with the standards, whose name is *al Mahdi*.
>
> The *Mahdi* will be descended from me, he will be a man with an open countenance and with a high nose. He will fill the earth with equity and justice, even as it has been filled with tyranny and oppression, and he will reign over the earth seven years.[1]

The word *Mahdī* means " guided one " or, since guidance is from God, " divinely guided one." In this form the word does not occur in the Qur'ān, nor do Muslim or Bukhārī list any traditions concerning the *Mahdī*, nor do systematic theologians of the Sunnis deal with him. But the inborn longing of the poor and depressed for a leader who will replace oppression by "equity and justice," has insisted that there must be such a person whose coming will save them. Most traditions are traced to the Prophet himself, some to 'Ali. Among the earlier traditions, as above, he is said to come from Syria or Khorasan ; later traditions say he will come from the *Maghrib*, the west. The description of his name and person is accepted by both Sunnis and Shias.

The term seems to have been applied first not later than A.H. 66 by Mukhtār, to Muḥammad ibn Ḥanafīya, when after the death of al Ḥusain, Shiite groups were forming behind many leaders. This Muḥammad is probably the first whose return after his death was generally accepted by a sect, for which reason he was also called *al Muntaẓar*, the expected one.

Among the Shī'a we shall find various uses of the term. But with the Ithna 'Ashariya, *al Mahdī* is the twelfth Imam, who disappeared as a child and whose return is still expected. In the meantime, he lives in concealment and continues to guide his followers through the mujtahids. His status is very different from that of the *Mahdī* whose coming is looked for by the Sunnis; for *al Mahdī al Qā'im* of the Shias is an infallible guide who on

[1] Hughes, T. P., Dict. of Islam, p. 305.

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his return will rule, in fact, continue to rule, by divine right. His position was foretold by Muḥammad as follows :

> O ye people ! I am the prophet and 'Ali is my heir, and from us will descend *al Mahdi*, the seal (i.e. the last) of the Imams, who will conquer all religions and take vengeance on the wicked. He will take fortresses and will destroy them, and slay every tribe of idolaters, and he will avenge the deaths of the martyrs of God. He will be the champion of the Faith, and a drawer of water at the fountain of divine knowledge. He will reward merit and requite every fool according to his folly. He will be approved and chosen of God, and the heir of all knowledge. He will be the valiant in doing right and one to whom the Most High has entrusted Islam.[1]

B. Religious Duties

The "Pillars of Islam," as Wensinck has called the prescribed duties for Sunnis, are five : *shahādat*, witness ; *ṣalāt* or namāz, which is prayer ; *zakāt*, alms ; *sāum*, fasting ; and *hajj* or pilgrimage, in their order of importance.[2] To these a sixth is usually added, *jihād* or holy war. It is probable that the difference in ritual observed by the Shias are not more than are found within the four schools of ' orthodox ' Islam, and it is well to remember that these are not the things that make them sectarians. It has been said that there are only seventeen points in which Shiite law takes so different a stand as to be at variance with all of the ' orthodox ' customs.

Love for 'Ali

Added to these duties and holding first place for Shias, is love for 'Ali and the People of the House for

> no action of virtue or worship and devotion to God will be accepted without this and on it depends salvation in the next life.[3]

This truth is emphasized again and again, not because 'Ali is related to the Prophet, but because of the moral excellencies that inhere in him and in his descendants.

Witness

The *shahādat*, witness, or formula of witness, of the Sunnis is :

[1] Al Majlisi, Hayat al Qulub, Tr. by Merrick, J. L., p. 342.
[2] Wensinck, *op. cit.*, pp. 19, 26.
[3] Badshah Husain, *op. cit.*, pp. 19, 26.

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" I witness that there is no god at all but God and that Muhammad is the Apostle of God." Accepting this, the *Ithnā 'Asharīya* add: " 'Ali is the saint of God " and sometimes : " and Fatima is the daughter of the Apostle of God."[1]

Prayer

Ṣalat, prayer, is the most important of the prescribed duties. There are ritualistic differences in preliminary ablutions and in the technique and content of some of the prayers used that need not here take our attention ; they can be obtained in manuals. The more significant differences with Shias are these :

(1) In the *adhān*, or call to prayer, this form is used, in which the Shiite additions are italicized, and numbers indicate the times of repetitions. God is great (4), I witness that there is no God but God (2), I witness that Muḥammad is the Prophet of God (2), *I witness that 'Ali is the saint of God* (2), Come to prayer (2), There is no God but God (2). (The Sunnis include this clause only once.[2]) On the establishment of a Shiite form of government where there has been a Sunni form, the introduction of this form of the call to prayer serves as a proclamation of the change. Another method for such a proclamation is at the congregational prayers on Friday when the *khuṭba* is preached in the name of the twelve Imams.

(2) Shias are less given to congregational prayers than are Sunnis, because with them the Imam is required to be " more excellent " than others, and the Shias are prohibited from joining in prayers behind one who is not " a perfect Muslim " ; who cannot pronounce Arabic words correctly (for they pray in Arabic); who is not thoroughly acquainted with the necessary doctrines of Islam, or who may be a " bastard."[3] And so while their Imam is concealed they usually offer their prayers alone, believing that he stands before them, and they precede the *namāz* by repeating the *adhān* themselves. Many, if not most, Shias will have a small cake of Kerbala clay upon which they touch their foreheads during the prostration in prayer, for this is considered preferable.

(3) If not under the necessity of practising dissimulation, Shias will not cross their hands below the navel when standing in

[1] Ivanow, W., Kalami Pir, I : 9, n. 1.
[2] Hashmat Ali Sahih, Namaz Shi'a ma' Usul-Din, p. 23.
[3] Ali bin Kazim, S., Namaz, Series No. 48, p. 15.

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position before praying, but hold the hands at their sides. To cross them renders the prayer null and void. The crossing of the hands, so it is said, was the way in which the prayers were first repeated, until the Prophet discovered that some converts had concealed in the full sleeves of their robes their household gods. To make that more difficult he directed the position with hands down at the sides, thus abrogating the earlier method. By continuing as they do, the Sunnis would affirm that the earlier practice was not abrogated.

(4) The *Ithnā 'Asharīya* usually pray three times daily rather than five. This is accomplished by combining some of the prescribed prayers. As do the Sunnis, they have their *fajr ki namāz* before sunrise ; but the *ẓuḥr* and *'aṣr* prayers are offered one after the other, with brief interval between, at, or after midday and before sunset ; the *maghrib* and *'ishā* prayers similarly are brought together after sunset when night has commenced to fall.

Besides these prayers, there are others for Fridays, for the two 'Ids, *'Id al fiṭr* and *'Id al ḍuḥa*, and other special occasions. Shias also use prayers prepared by their Imams a great deal, concerning which an earnest advocate says that they " act as charms " in producing a spirit of devotion.

Pilgrims to shrines are sometimes provided with prayers together with instructions for their efficacious use, and while the Imams are the only true intercessors, others too, as Fāṭima, and " even . . . Shia divines (to a limited degree) "[1] share in this high duty of intercession. Although pilgrimages to the tombs of imamzadas, descendants of Imams, were authorized by traditions from the Imams, the sanction of the custom by leaders together with their encouragement to make such visits because of the connections of these persons with the Imams "and the probability that visiting their tombs may be a means of blessing,"[2] has increased the number of those who may act as intercessors. But beyond these there are many other shrines—graves of saints and Companions like Salmān al Fārsi, shrines over prints of a foot in stone,—to which pilgrimage is made, and at each of which intercession may be sought.

Pilgrimage

Ḥajj, or pilgrimage, to the *Ka'ba* at Mecca, is enjoined on every

[1] Badshah Husain, *op. cit.*, p. 76.
[2] Donaldson, *op. cit.*, p. 258. Readers may refer to his chapters XXIV, XXV and XXXII.

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Muslim who is of age, and who possesses means and health, at least once in his lifetime. To include with this a visit to the tombs of the Prophet and early *khulafā* at Medina, has also become customary. Many Shias perform these pilgrimages, and more would if they were not discouraged from doing so : (1) by the necessity on all pilgrims, at certain stages, to share in the praises of the first *khulafā*, and other Companions of the Prophet ; and (2) because before entering the *Ka'ba* all pilgrims are asked to declare their sect and only Sunnis are admitted to the sanctuary.[1] Shias may thus share only if they practice *taqīya* or dissimulation. Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali says that in her time the tax payable to the Meccan authorities fell heavily on the Shias

> from whom they exact heavy sums out of jealousy and prejudice. This renders it difficult for the poor Sheah to gain admittance, and it is even suspected that in many cases they are induced to falsify themselves, when it is demanded of them what sect they belong to, rather than be denied entrance after their severe trial to reach the confines of Mecca. The tax levied on the Soonies is said to be trifling in proportion to that on the Sheahs.[2]

Many who have gone on this pilgrimage in spite of these deterrents have been killed when they were recognized and especially when they have tried to pollute the graves of the first *khulafā*.[3] In part because of this attitude of the majority of Muslims toward them, and in part because of their deep reverence and love for their own Imams, they have largely substituted other pilgrimages for that to Mecca. The most important Shiite shrines are those of Ḥusain at Kerbala, of 'Ali at Najaf, of Imam Riḍa at Mashad, the shrine of the Kaẓimain at Baghdad and of Askariyain at Samarra. Shias who go to Mecca will invariably include one or more of these in their travel. Very large numbers go only to these. When Imam 'Ali al Riḍa was asked whether it was better to visit Mecca or the tomb of the Apostle, he replied :

> What would you say in this case ? We Shi'ites recognize the visitation of the tomb of the Imam Husain as better than the pilgrimage to Mecca, then why should we not also recognize the pilgrimage to the tomb of the Apostle as better also ?[4]

The following examples of the significance *Ithnā 'Asharīya* attach to their shrines and the merit they derive from them are

[1] Jafar Sharif, *op. cit.*, pp. 122/123.
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 124.
[3] Burton, R. F., Pilgrimage to al Medina and Meccah, p. 321.
[4] Donaldson, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

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taken from *The Shi'ite Religion.* For a pilgrim to 'Ali's shrine at Najaf, if sincere in his obedience to 'Ali,

> the Most High will register merit equal to one hundred thousand martyrdoms, and his sins of the past and the present will be forgiven.[1]

Nowhere else is the soil in the vicinity of a shrine so prized as at Kerbala. Shias who are able to do so, wish to be buried there. Pilgrims certainly, and many others, purchase rosaries of beads of Kerbala clay, and also clay tablets for use in prayers. Merchants, it is said, can get these tablets for three rupees a hundred.

> When a Shi'ah dies he is most fortunate if he can have a necklace of beads around his neck, a clay ring on the fore-finger of his right hand, an armlet of clay on each of his arms, and a little of the dust that is swept from the tomb should be bound in a cloth and gripped in his right hand, and it is well if the sheet in which the body is wrapped for burial, should have words of the Koran written upon it with clay.[2]

The tomb of the Kaẓimain is particularly famous for its miracles of healing, not only in the past but in the present. Besides these shrines of their Imams, Shias are encouraged to visit the shrines of imamzadas, for "honour shown to them is equivalent to honouring the Imams."[3] The tomb of Fāṭima, the daughter of Imam Musa, and the shrines of saints, scholars and poets are also mentioned for pilgrimages. Those who cannot go themselves are permitted to send their proxies.

Holy War

Put in a sentence, the position of Shias regarding *jihād* is simply this, that there can be no holy war in the absence of the Imam. In 1871 an authoritative declaration on this subject was put out by the Shias through a *mujtahid* "after consultation with the chief authorities among his sect, including a great spiritual functionary of the ex-king of Oudh," and is binding on all "Twelvers" in India. It explains the three meanings of *jihād* and lays down seven conditions without which a holy war would become unlawful for this community :

> First, when the rightful Imam is present and grants his permission.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 64.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 90.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 264.

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Second, when arms and ammunitions of war and experienced warriors are ready.
Third, when the Jahad is one against mutineers and enemies of God. (Harbi Kafir.)
Fourth, when he who makes Holy War is in possession of his reason, when he is not a lunatic or a man of impaired senses, and when he is neither sick, nor blind, nor lame.
Fifth, when he has secured the permission of his parents.
Sixth, when he is not in debt.
Seventh, when he has sufficient money to meet the expenses of his journey and of the inns by the way, and to pay for the maintenance of his family.[1]

Taqīya

To place *taqīya* in juxtaposition with prescribed duties of religion seems incongruous. One would wish it were far removed, off by itself. And yet *taqīya* penetrates the most sacred situations ; it can belie apparently straightforward relations, and like hidden canker it may eat through moral fibre ; for *taqīya*, dissimulation, or the concealing of religious beliefs, is not only permissible, but at their own interpretation, an obligation upon all Shias. This " protective colouring " intended for occasions of danger, may be so used as not only to conceal one's own faith but to win confidence by professing the faith of another. Its importance as a recognized practice is indicated by the fact that Shiite collections of traditions, or creeds, have sections for this subject. One reads :

> Our belief concerning *taqiya* (permissible dissimulation) is that it is obligatory, and he who forsakes it is in the same position as he who forsakes prayer. . . . Now until the Imam al Qaim appears, *taqiya* is obligatory and it is not permissible to dispense with it. He who abandons it before the appearance of the Qaim, has verily gone out of the religion of Allah and His Messenger and the Imams. . . . When asked concerning the verse, ' Verily the noblest among you in the sight of Allah, is the most pious,' Jafar said, ' (it means) he who adheres most scrupulously to the practice of *taqiya*.'[2]

The authority for *taqīya* is found in the Qur'ān III : 27 (Rodwell). " Let not believers take infidels for their friends rather than believers ; whoso shall do this hath nothing to hope from God —unless, indeed, ye fear a fear from them." Baidāwi gives an

[1] Hunter, W. W., The Indian Musalmans, pp. 115/119.
[2] Fyzee, *op. cit.*, pp. 110/111.

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interpretation of this to the effect that "an alliance with unbelievers is forbidden except in time of danger, when an ostensible alliance is permitted," while another Sunni commentator, Ḥusain, explains that "this authorized taqiyya in the early days of Islam."[1] But Shiite belief makes it obligatory at all times and anywhere. Al Majlisi in *Ḥayāt al Qulūb* says that Muḥammad practised *taqīya* until Sura V : 71, "and God will protect thee from evil men," was revealed since, when God became surety against any harm to him.

Another rendering of the verse authorizing this practice is as follows: "Whether ye hide what is in your breasts or whether ye publish it abroad, God knoweth it," from which it appears that "the confession of the soul to God" is the mark of the true believer whatever his outward practice may be.

By *taqīya* the Shias have preserved themselves in many an adverse or dangerous situation, But Ivanow shows the consequence of this practice in Persia, where, in an Ismā'īlī community "accustomed to live in 'taqiyya' and practising the external rites of Shi'ism," there are numerous sectarians who have so identified themselves with the Imami Shias that they are Ismailis in name only.[2]

We shall have repeated occasions in the following pages to refer to this practice, whose origin seems to have been early in the development of Shiism. The author of *Asrār al Nuṭaqā* writes:

> This is what is narrated of Ja'far al Ṣādiq,
> who said: '. . . Religious disguise (at-taqiya) is the religious practice *of mine and of my ancestors*; whosoever has no *taqiyya* (i.e. does not hide his secret beliefs from his enemies), he has no faith.'
> Imam Ja'far remained in his original place, entering into the cave of *taqiyya, as his father called it.*[3]
> Abu'l Khaṭṭāb began as a *dā'ī* of Bāqir and Ja'far . . . *He* also taught a number of *new*, heretical doctrines, including . . . *taqiya.*[4]

All of these agree in taking the practice back to the Imamate of Muḥammad al Bāqir. Indirect evidence is also afforded to this same conclusion by the fact that the Zaidīya alone of all

[1] Sell, *op. cit.*, p. 144.
[2] Ivanow, W., Ismailitica, p. 56.
[3] Ja'far ibn Mansur, Asrar al Nutaqa, pp. 92, 100. **Tr. by Ivanow, W., The Rise of the Fatimids, pp. 288/289, 297. (Italics mine.)**
[4] Lewis, B., The Origin of Ismailism, p. 32.

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Shiite sects do not practice *taqīya*. Now Zaid, after whom the Zaidīya are named, was a brother of Muḥammad al Bāqir and was killed during his imamate while leading a rebellion. Either the Zaidīya had not yet heard of *taqīya* which would place its introduction after Zaid's death ; or, knowing about the practice, they had rejected it, which would throw it earlier, even into the imamate of Zain al Abidīn whose swearing of allegiance to Muslim in Medina may have been an earlier example of the same practice. The first alternative seems the more probable. Traditions traced to Ja'far al Ṣādiq leave no doubt that *taqīya* as a working basis in Shiism was fully established by his imamate ; and it is interesting to note that it is among the Hanifites that mental reservation is legitimized in order to save self or relatives or friends. Abū Ḥanīfa, the founder of that school, attended classes of Imam Ja'far.

Shiite Law

Since this subject is technical and those interested can find necessary material elsewhere,[1] I am not dealing with Shiite law. But because marriage is of such important consequence in a community, and in *Mut'a* we have one of the striking differences between Sunni and Shiite law, a statement concerning it seems to be needed.

Mut'a

The term, *Mut'a*, signifies what Persians call *ṣīgha*,[2] or contract marriage and others *nikāh al muwaqqat*, or temporary marriage. It is recognized as legal by the Akhbāri school and some of the *Uṣūli* among the *Ithnā 'Asharīya*.[3] Its validity is denied by the Sunnis, who consider its practice to be adultery, *zina*. By *mut'a* " a man and a woman may enter into a contract of marriage for any period they like,"[4] less than a day or as long as a hundred years. Such a contract is automatically terminated by the efflux of the time fixed, or it may end by mutual agreement, without divorce, and without right to maintenance beyond the stipulated period.

The following conditions govern in *mut'a* marriages :

[1] Baillie, N. B. E., A Digest of Mohummudan Law, Imameea, 2 vol. (sic.)
[2] EI, Mut'a.
[3] Ameer Ali, Mahomedan Law II, p. 320.
[4] Fyzee, A. A. A., BLR, XXXIII No. 6, pp. 30/32.

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(1) A declaration and an acceptance are essential. The declaration may be made in any of the three ways: *zawajtu-ka* or *m'uttatu-ka* meaning 'I have united myself to thee;' or *ankahtu-ka*, 'I have married thee.'

(2) It is declared abominable for a man to marry a virgin who has no father, but it is not prohibited. A minor girl requires the consent of her father or guardian.

(3) There *must* be mention of a dower, *and* of the period. To omit either makes the marriage operate as a permanent marriage, even though the intention was to have it a temporary marriage.

(4) The two parties to the contract do not inherit from each other.

(5) Children born of such marriages are legitimate and inherit like the issue of a permanent contract.[1]

Temporary marriage follows a practice said to have been common in Arabia before Islam, when apparently a special class of women was kept for this purpose. It receives the name *mut'a*, meaning pittance, because the man gives to the woman a small gift "either in the shape of a piece of cloth, or a handful of flour, or dates." Before the *hijra* it was not countenanced by Muḥammad or his Companions. But conditions changed with life at Medina. Here there were frequent military expeditions, when men left their wives at home. So, writes 'Abdullāh ibn Mas'ūd:

> We represented (to Muhammad) whether we should emasculate ourselves. He prevented us from this (course) and then permitted us to resort to mut'a. . . . Some of us used to marry a woman for a time by giving her a piece of cloth.[2]

This type of marriage is sanctioned by the Qur'ān in a verse reading:

> . . . and all (women) beside these are made lawful for you, provided that you seek (them) with your property, marrying (them) without comitting fornication; then as to those by (marrying) whom you profit, give them their statutory gifts, and there is no blame on you about what you mutually agree after that which is stipulated.[3]

Notwithstanding general agreement regarding the meaning of this passage in the Qur'ān, Dr. Daudpota insists that the word *istimta* used in the verse has reference to permanent marriage

[1] Ameer Ali, *op. cit.*, pp. 398/400.
[2] Daudpota, U. M., A Brief History of Muta, JBBRAS, N.S. VIII, 1932, p. 81.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 82.

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and that *mut'a* marriage was not divinely sanctioned, and was only granted as a concession by the Prophet, and did not therefore need to be abrogated as if it had been revealed.

The Sunnis maintain that the passage was abrogated by a tradition recorded in Muslim's *Saḥīḥ* :

> O people!—I had indeed allowed you to benefit by these women. But behold! God has prohibited it until the day of Resurrection. So if anyone has such women, let him allow them to go their way, and do not take aught of anything you have given them.[1]

Muḥammad is said to have forbidden the custom in A.H. 6 and after the victory of Mecca to have allowed it again for three days, after which it was never sanctioned. Both 'Umar and 'Uthman suppressed it. But holding that abrogation of a revelation can only be a counter-revelation, the Shias consider *mut'a* marriage as still valid, and claim that it has been accepted by their Imams.[2] Donaldson describes the practice among Shiite pilgrims.[3] A friend of mine told me of an Indian Sunni whom he knew, whose business took him to north-west China, who contracted this type of marriage for the period of his visit.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 83.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 83/84.
[3] *Op. Cit.*, p. 186.

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CHAPTER V

The Imams of the Ithna 'Ashariya I

Al Ḥasan, A.H. 40–49

We return now to the successors of 'Ali in the Imamate. Al Ḥasan was recognized as *Khalīfa* in succession to 'Ali by the people of Kūfa almost immediately after the funeral of his father. He was the elder of the sons and had been born on the 15th of Ramaḍān in the year A.H. 3. The names given to him and his brother Ḥusain, belong really to dwellers in Paradise and had not been known to Arabs before this. Both boys were greatly beloved of their grandfather, the Prophet, who not having living sons of his own found much of comfort in these grandsons. Al Ḥasan is said to have resembled him in appearance. Shias cherish a tradition which represents the Prophet carrying the two boys, one on either hip, and exclaiming: "O God, verily I love them, wherefore love Thou them and love him who loveth them." On another occasion, the Prophet was romping with Al Ḥasan, carrying the boy on his shoulders, when a man met them and said, "An excellent steed thou ridest, lad!" to which the Prophet rejoined, "And he is an excellent rider."[1]

Muir tells us that when it became evident that 'Ali's wound was mortal, someone asked if it was his desire that his son should succeed to the *Khilāfat*. To this question 'Ali replied, "I do not command it, neither do I forbid it. See ye to it." But he called Ḥasan and Ḥusain to his bedside and urged them to continue in piety and resignation, and also to be kind to their other brother, Muḥammad, the son of the Ḥanafite woman.[2] 'Ali also gave to Ḥasan the sacred books and personal armour which were symbols of the high office of the Imamate.

The strife with Mu'āwiya which had marred the days of the father, continued to plague the son. But he did not have the character or purpose required to hold steady his trust, and soon came to terms with Mu'āwiya. Shias say that Al Ḥasan detected

[1] Al Suyuti, *op. cit.*, pp. 191/192.
[2] Muir, W., The Caliphate; its Rise, Decline and Fall, p. 299.

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a wavering among his supporters and so yielded. But those who remembered how 'Ali had been willing to arbitrate the question of the *Khilāfat* were now more upset when Ḥasan abdicated. Al Suyūṭi naively remarks, " The affair was left in the hands of God."

Dināwari, an early Shiite writer, states the terms of surrender as follows :

> (1) that Mu'awiya should not seize any of the people of 'Iraq in retaliation, (2) that the Arab and the non-Arab should be protected, (3) that Mu'awiya should overlook whatever their offences had been, (4) that he should give to him (Hasan) the tribute of Ahwaz as an annual grant, (5) that he should give to his brother Husain ibn Ali an annual grant of a thousand dirhams, and (6) that he should honour the Beni Hashim in his favours and gifts in the same way that he would honour the Beni Abdu'l-Shems.[1]

Naubakhtī reports that during the lifetime of Al Ḥasan many people refused to recognize him as Imam because he had sold the *Khilāfat* ;[2] while Lammens says that the Iraqis prevented his receiving the revenues of a district in Persia. He also says that Al Ḥasan was to receive a pension of five million dirhams in addition to the revenue of a province, and Al Ḥusain two million. Al Suyūṭi also remarks on the condemnation of Al Ḥasan for selling out, and says that he was named the " shame of the Muslims."[3]

Al Ḥasan's renunciation of his *Khilāfat* seems to have been complete as far as any leadership is concerned. He could not divest himself of the prerogatives of the Imams, but he did not function in any way to build up the community. He is said to have died of consumption in Medina, but Shias believe that the continued enmity of Mu'āwiya and Yazīd, his son, at last found its opportunity through a wife with whom Al Ḥasan was no longer living, to get him poisoned.

Ja'far Sharīf, described as " a native of the Deccan," explains the enmity that actuated Mu'āwiya and his son. Yazīd became covetous of the wife of Zubair of Medina. He wrote Zubair offering him his own daughter in marriage. Zubair accepted and went to the palace for the princess, but she declined because the suitor was already married. Whereupon he at once divorced his

[1] Dinawari, Abu Hanifa, 230. Tr. by Donaldson, *op. cit.*, p. 70.
[2] Al Naubakhti, Tr. by Ritter, H., p. 21.
[3] Al Suyuti, *op. cit.*, 194 ; Taylor, W. C., The History of Mohammedanism and its Sects, p. 154.

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wife. Then the princess pressed for dowry. Yazīd, in order to help, granted him a distant province to govern but in his instructions to the old governor enjoined him to kill Zubair. Al Ḥasan, in Medina, had heard of these negotiations and himself proposed to the divorced woman and she accepted him in preference to Yazīd, for his " wealth will last to the day of judgment, and whose grandeur and dignity are in the very presence of the Deity."[1]

Such disappointments are very keen and they have led to more than one feud. But it may be that there is another reason also. Some authorities have stated that Mu'āwiya had agreed with Al Ḥasan at the time of his settlement, not to appoint his successor without the consent of Al Ḥasan. But Mirza Alexandre Kazem Beg says that his researches in the history of this period indicate that Al Ḥasan had expected that he himself would succeed to the *Khilāfat* without opposition on the death of Mu'āwiya.[2] This expectation, together with the rivalry referred to above, would be strong reason for Mu'āwiya or his son to become a mortal enemy of Ḥasan.

Al Ḥasan had been Imam for nearly ten years, but *Khalīfa* for six months and three days, when he died. He was buried in Medina. It had been his wish to be buried in the tomb of the Prophet, and, although 'Aisha had once consented to this, she now, on Marwān's objection, refused. Al Ḥasan was therefore buried near his mother in the Baqi' cemetery.

Al Ḥasan had a very unsavoury reputation as *al mitlaq*, the divorcer. He is said to have married ninety women, and his divorces led to enmities that threatened tribal harmony, so that 'Ali issued a warning to the men of Kūfa, " Give not your daughters in marriage to Al Ḥasan for he is a man that divorceth frequently."[3]

Of his father's good qualities, Al Ḥasan is said to have inherited only his piety and his merciful disposition. When Al Ḥusain was told by the physician that Al Ḥasan had been poisoned, he asked his brother to name the murderer, to which Al Ḥasan, at the point of death, replied :

> O brother! the life of this world is made up of nights that vanish away. Let the murderer alone, until we both meet at the judgment seat of God, where justice will assuredly be done.

[1] Jaffur Shurreef, Qanoon-e-Islam, Tr. by Herklots, G. A., pp. 151/153.
[2] JA, Dec. 1843, Series IV., Vol. II, p. 393.
[3] Al Suyuti, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

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In his negotiations with Mu'āwiya Al Ḥasan stipulated that the anathemas pronounced against his father should be discontinued. This Mu'āwiya refused, but he did accept Al Ḥasan's further request that they should not be pronounced in the son's presence.

> Al Ḥasan had many virtues. . . . he was a prince gentle of disposition, grave, reserved and dignified ; generous, greatly extolled, averse from strife, and the sword . . . he would bestow upon one man as much as a hundred thousand dirhams . . . he performed the pilgrimage on foot twenty-five times, his horses being led beside him.[1]

His record of miracles is not as extensive as that of sons of the Imams, but this important evidence of an Imam was not absent in the case of this, the second Shiite Imam.

Al Ḥusain, A.H. 49–61

Historians differ as to the exact date of Al Ḥusain's birth. It was, perhaps, on the 5th of Sha'bān in the year A.H. 4. He was a premature child and his surviving was considered miraculous. Mu'āwiya's efforts on behalf of his son Yazīd were continued. He made a pilgrimage to the holy cities, but his real purpose was to secure their adherence to the cause of his son.

Al Ḥusain was married to Shahr-banu, also called Al Sulafa and Shah-i-Zanan, the latter names being given by 'Ali.[2] She is also known as Harar. She was the daughter of Yezdegird, the last Sassanian king, who was driven from place to place in the campaign of 'Umar and 'Uthmān, and finally assassinated in the eighth year of 'Uthmān's rule by one who found him in a miller's hut in Merv. Every year in Persian towns and settlements, heart-moving passion plays are enacted, in one of which, Shahr-Banu, ' the Mother of Nine Imams ' is the heroine. In a drama entitled " The Passing of Shahrbanu," she speaks :

> Born of the race of Yazdigird the King
> From Nushirwan my origin I trace.
> What time kind Fortune naught but joy did bring
> In Ray's proud city was my home and place.
> There in my father's palace once at night
> In sleep to me came Fatima ' the Bright ' ;
> ' O Shahr-banu '—thus the vision cried—
> ' I give thee to Husayn to be his bride ! '

[1] Al Suyuti, *op. cit.*, p. 192.
[2] Najm al Ghani Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 424.

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Said I, 'Behold Mada'in is my home,
And how shall I to far Madina roam?
Impossible!' But Fatima cried, 'Nay,
Hasan shall hither come in war's array,
And bear thee hence, a prisoner of war,
From this Mada'in to Madina far,
Where, joined in wedlock with Husayn my boy,
Thou shalt bear children who will be my joy.
For nine Imams to thee shall owe their birth,
The like of them hath not been seen on earth!'[1]

Not by Al Ḥasan, but as a captive from one of 'Umar's campaigns, Shahr-banu, with two sisters, was brought to Medina from Ctesiphon. 'Umar, so the drama says, ordered them to be sold as slaves, but 'Ali intervened. Shahr-banu was given to Ḥusain. This marriage has had significance in later times, because from this time the Imams of the *Ithnā 'Asharīya* and of the *Ismā'īlīya* have not only had the blood of the Prophet, but also the blue blood of the royal house of Sasan in their veins. It helps, too, to explain how, when a Persian dynasty was again established in the sixteenth century, Shah Ismā'īl, who traced his descent to Imām Mūsa, decreed the Shiite religion to be the state religion.

Al Ḥusain, although living in Medina, had loyally refrained from any interference during the life of his brother, Al Ḥasan. He regularly attended the court of Damascus and actually served in the army of the *Khalīfa*, when the Saracens made their first attack on Constantinople.[2] When, on the death of Mu'āwiya, Yazīd asked him to swear allegiance and he had refused, Al Ḥusain was invited by the people of Kūfa to assume the *Khilāfat* and he felt a sense of duty to act. He sent his cousin, Muslim, to Kūfa to study the situation and to report to him on the dependability of the people who had signed the call. Muslim urged him to come. Ibn 'Abbās strongly urged Al Ḥusain against going, but Ibn Zubair seemed to favour the plan, perhaps selfishly. In the meantime Yazīd had moved against Kūfa by appointing 'Ubaidullā ibn Ziyād as the military governor. He moved quickly; Kufan support melted away; Muslim was killed. Word of Muslim's death reached Al Ḥusain when he and his band reached Qādisīya. Al Ḥusain might have returned, but Muslim's brothers would not for they were determined to secure vengeance, and also a messenger had come from 'Ubaidullā, who would not allow the return. Courageously the little party of seventy-two stayed

[1] Browne, *op. cit.*, p. 132.
[2] Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

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together and on the field of Kerbala they were soon confronted with a force of three thousand (a modern writer says thirty thousand)[1] under 'Umar ibn Sa'd and Ibn Ziyād. This is not the place to narrate in detail the story of the conflict. Shias dwell at length on the sufferings of Imam Ḥusain and members of his family, particularly the little son who was killed in his arms. Al Fakhrī says :

> This is a catastrophe whereof I care not to speak at length, deeming it alike too grievous and too horrible. For verily it was a catastrophe than which naught more shameful hath happened in Islam.[2]
> Husain had reached the age of fifty-five (some say fifty-nine). On his body they counted thirty-three strokes of the lance and thirty-four blows of the sword. Zorah ibn Sharik gave him the severest blow with the sword. There were four Ansars who perished with him, but all the rest were from various Arab tribes. 'Umar ibn Sa'd ordered his horsemen to trample the body of Husain underneath their horses' feet for he had lost eighty-eight men in the conflict.[3]

Ja'far Sharīf has recorded that Al Ḥusain's head was severed when he was in the act of prayer. With the surviving relatives, it was sent to Damascus and at every stage on the road some miracle was manifested by it. The following account is from a tradition preserved by Imam Ismā'īl :

> When Hosein's head was sent to be presented to Yezid, the escort that guarded it, halting for the night in the city of Mosul, placed it in a box, which they locked up in a temple. One of the sentinels, in the midst of the night, looking through a chink in one of the doors, saw a man of immense stature, with a white and venerable beard, take Hosein's head out of the box, kiss it affectionately, and weep over it. Soon after a crowd of venerable sages arrived, each of whom kissed the pallid lips and wept bitterly. Fearing that these people might convey the head away, he unlocked the door and entered. Immediately one of the number came up, gave him a violent slap on the face, and said, ' The Prophets have come to pay a morning visit to the head of the martyr. Whither dost thou venture so disrespectfully ? '[4]

Concerning the disposal of the head, three reports are current : (1) On order of Yazīd his head was carried about through all countries, and finally it was buried at Ascalon. During the time

[1] The Moonlight, Jan. 28, 1942, p. 55.
[2] Browne, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 227.
[3] Donaldson, *op. cit.*, p. 86.
[4] Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 160/161.

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of the Fatimids it was removed from there to Cairo, where it was buried near Khān Khalīli. (2) It was buried in Medina in the Baqi' cemetery near the grave of Al Ḥasan. (3) Forty days after Al Ḥusain's martyrdom at Kerbala the head was buried with the body.[1]

No event in the history of Islam has so deeply stirred the emotions of Muslims as the slaughter at Kerbala. It did not unite Muslims, nor even the Shī'a, but through the years it has been the force that has channeled the deepest currents of Shiite thinking so that it has been said that

> Muhammad, 'Ali and Husain form a Shi'a trinity. The first named represents revelation; 'Ali, interpretation or the esoteric meaning (ta'wil) of the Qoran, and Husain, redemption.[2]

In 1942, in a large number of centres through India, public meetings in commemoration of the thirteen hundredth anniversary of Al Ḥusain's death, were held, at which he was eulogized, his martyrdom extolled, and his idealism, courage and loyalty to truth, were presented as the model for all. In these meetings and in the Press, Muslims of all schools united in a common tribute to the " Prince of Martyrs."

Ḥusain's tomb at Kerbala has rightly been called by Donaldson, " the most significant Shi'ite Shrine."[3] Its importance has been attested more than once by the enemies of Shias who have attacked it. The first pilgrim is said to have been Jābir ibn 'Abdullā, the Prophet's Companion, who visited it on the fortieth day after Al Ḥusain's death. A Shiite account states that some of the faithful had marked the site of the grave by planting a plum tree near it. This was cut, so the account continues, by order of Hārun al Rashīd, and the ground ploughed. But some of those who by then had settled in the vicinity secretly marked the grave. Again in the third century *hijra*, Mutawakkil designated a Jew to destroy the tomb and he sought to do so by changing the course of the Euphrates, " but due to miracles wrought by the holy tomb," he was not able to accomplish his purpose. Through the centuries, the shrine has passed through varying vicissitudes since 'Adūd al Daula had all monuments reconstructed, and a treasury dedicated to Imam Ḥusain. While at times enemies

[1] Najm al Ghani Khan, *op. cit.*, pp. 423/424.
Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 160.
[2] Lammens, *op. cit.*, p. 144.
[3] See The Shiite Religion, VIII.

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have despoiled treasury and buildings, earnest rulers have renewed and improved them. The canal at Kerbala was constructed in A.H. 957.[1] There is also at Kerbala a shrine to 'Abbās, a half-brother to Al Ḥusain.

The story of Kerbala is the basis of the Muḥarram celebrations which have such a unique place in Shiism. In a scene in that story as it is recounted by Pelly, Gabriel announces for Muḥammad that

> the sole Creator has granted four boons to Ḥusein :
> (1) whoever prays under the dome of thy shrine, his prayer shall be heard.
> (2) All true Imams of religion shall be of thy seed.
> (3) The earth of the land where thou art buried shall be a cure for all diseases.
> (4) Whoever visits thy sepulchre shall live a double life.
> To this Husain's body replies that it would be willing to be beheaded a thousand times ' if the Lord of Heaven and Earth will graciously pardon the sins of Muhammad's followers in the day of Judgment.'
> Gabriel replies : ' Be not troubled, O ornament of God's lofty throne, on account of the sinfulness of the Prophet's people, on that day for the God of men and jinns will certainly forgive the sins of Muhammad's followers for the sake of thy meritorious offering.'[2]

'Ali Zain al 'Abidīn, A.H. 61–92

The immediate family of Al Ḥusain suffered heavily in the cruel attacks at Kerbala. Authorities differ as to the number of children there were, the statements varying from six sons and three daughters to three sons and two daughters. But most agree that among the sons there were three named 'Ali : 'Ali Akbar, the eldest ; 'Ali Ausaṭ the middle one ; and 'Ali Aṣghar, the little one, of whom the first and third were martyred at Kerbala. 'Ali Ausaṭ was ill during the fighting at Kerbala and was with his sister, Zaināb, and thus escaped. But that narrowly, for after the fighting had died down he was found by the enemy, who wished to kill him. The order to do so was given but on the earnest entreaty of the women, he was spared. 'Ali Ausaṭ came to be called 'Ali Akbar, but is best known by his surname Zain

[1] Ahmad Sahib, The Tragedy of Karbala, Tr. by Husain, M.A.
[2] Pelley, Sir L., The Miracle Play of Hasan and Husain, 293 ff.

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al 'Abidīn,[1] the ornament of pious men. He and 'Ali Asghar were both born of the Persian Princess Shahr-banu, whom Al Ḥusain used to call Ghazāla, the gazelle. Owing to this connection with their royal family the Persians looked upon 'Ali Zain al 'Abidīn with real affection.

With his sisters and another brother 'Ali was sent to Kūfa and then to Damascus with the same guard that conveyed his father's head to Yazīd. After a brief stay there Yazīd permitted these children to return to Medina to live. 'Ali is said to have been twenty-two or twenty-three years of age.

Political events moved fast. Besides Ḥusain, 'Abd al Raḥmān and 'Abdullā ibn Zubair had refused to give allegiance to Yazīd. Now, with the events of Kerbala fresh in mind, the people of Medina and then of Mecca, accepted Ibn Zubair as their *Khalīfa*. He was able and ambitious. Yazid immediately sent troops under Muslim ibn 'Uqba to suppress the incipient rebellion. He was very severe, and indifferent to religious susceptibilities. When much of Medina had been destroyed and the mosque of the Prophet had been desecrated he gave an opportunity for those who would, to declare their allegiance to Yazīd. Among those who did so was 'Ali ibn Ḥusain. Muslim gave him special treatment, saying that the *Khalīfa* had instructed him to do so. To which 'Ali replied, " Truly I disapproved entirely of what the people of Medina did."[2] Upon which Muslim took him to his house. Muslim then turned his attention to Mecca. The sacred Ka'ba was ruined and much was destroyed in the city. Yazid's sudden death put an end to the expedition. His successor was a youth. The strong hand which the times required was not on the helm of the state. Ibn Zubair aspired to the *Khilāfat* as did the others. More than one aspirant sought to use the strength of the Alids, but they were divided.

The strongest group among them just at the moment was called the *Kaisānīya*, the followers of Muḥammad the Hanafite. Muḥammad had in fact presented his superior claims to be Imam to 'Ali Zain al 'Abidīn. They decided to let the black stone in the Ka'ba decide the question. Together they went to the Ka'ba and at 'Ali's suggestion, Muḥammad inquired first for its testimony on the important question. But the stone remained silent. Then Zain al 'Abidīn implored the stone to

[1] Najm al Ghani Khan, *op. cit.*, pp. 424/425.
Sell, Ithna 'Ashariya, p. 10.
[2] Donaldson, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

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answer in Arabic as to who should be Imam after Al Ḥusain. The stone trembled and in extremely eloquent Arabic declared that it was the right of 'Ali, the son of Al Ḥusain.[1] Muḥammad accepted the decision. Sell says that Muḥammad was named as a deputy by 'Ali Zain al 'Abidīn. It was at this time, too, that the repenting Khawārij, assured that there was no other way to right the wrong that had been done but to avenge the death of Al Ḥusain, set out to destroy those who were guilty of the awful deed. Their leader, Sulaimān, insisted on repentance before action. Bowing their heads in asking pardon, they " stood up and drew their swords and upheld their lances," and all agreed to kill off the murderers of the family of the Prophet and appoint 'Ali Zain al 'Abidīn *Khalīfa*. This militant group, known as the Penitents, was defeated in A.H. 65, but they had shown " that earnest faith, true belief, and priceless freedom existed among the Shi'ahs."[2]

'Ali Zain al 'Abidīn would not take part in movements against Yazīd, or his successors ; nor was he interested in the efforts of others to make him *Khalīfa*. The sad events of Kerbala of which he was an eye-witness had made a deep impression on his life. Following his pilgrimage to Mecca with Muḥammad the Ḥanafite, 'Ali Zain al 'Abidīn lived quietly in Medina until he died at the age of 57 or 58 in A.H. 92, 94 or 95. He is said to have been poisoned by " al Wālid ibn 'Abdu'l Mālik, Allah curse him." He was buried in the Baqi' cemetery near his uncle, Al Ḥasan.

'Ali is remembered for a deeply religious nature. Besides the name Zain al 'Abidīn, he is also known as ' The Imam of the Carpet ' because of the great amount of time he spent in prayer. So much was he engaged in *sijda*, worship, that he developed corns on his forehead like the hard under-part of a camel, from which he came to be called *Dhu'l Taftat*. He had a mosque in his own house and is said to have performed as many as a thousand rak'ats during a day and a night. He was extremely generous to the poor, spending time in distributing both money and goods to them. But most of his time was passed " in meditation, devotional exercises, and *in collecting and arranging the commands of the Prophet.*[3] His prayers have been brought together under the title, *The Prayers of Imam Zain al 'Abidīn*, and are impressive for their spirit of devotion.

[1] Sell, Canon, Ithna 'Ashariya (Urdu), p. 18.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 6.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 14. (Italics mine.)

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During this imamate persecution of the Shi'a was very intense. 'Abd al Malik, the khalifa, is reported to have warned them that he was not weak like 'Uthman, nor a flatterer like Mu'awiya, nor a fool like Yazīd, but that he would flatter them with a sword until they came into the way of righteousness and he was as good as his word. But in spite of persecution, or because of it, the currents in Shiism continued to run strong. During the approximately thirty-two years of his imamate 'Ali made use of the opportunity which his " retirement " afforded, urged on by the incentive of persecution, to promote both the protection of his followers and the clarification of Shiite teachings. At this time the Imamiya " formed themselves into a secret order with a series of seven degrees, into each of which its votaries were formally initiated,"[1] A belief in a cycle of seven Imams also seems to have arisen very early.[2] The teachings of the concealment and of the return of the Imam were introduced on the death of Muḥammad the Ḥanafite (A.H. 81).

Muḥammad al Bāqir : A.H. 92–114

Muḥammad ibn 'Ali ibn Ḥusain, known as Al Bāqir, the fifth Imam, was three years old when his grandfather was killed. In him the families of two Imams were joined, for his mother was the daughter of Imam Ḥasan. The Imamate had now become almost entirely a religious institution, with the Imam as a religious teacher, or guide. Muḥammad al Bāqir lived mostly at Medina and refrained from becoming involved in secular matters. In this respect he differed from his brother Zaid for the Zaidiyas considered the use of force to establish the claims of the Imam as vital. Zaid was not deterred by the advice of his brother who, to clinch his point, taunted him as being only the son of 'Ali and not the son of an Imam, " for he certainly never came forth to assert his claims." Zaid headed a rebellion and was killed near Kūfa, and was succeeded by Yahya, his son. The Zaidīya continue as a separate sect until now.

Another claimant for the Imamate, not so well known as Zaid, was 'Abdullā ibn 'Ali ibn 'Abdullā ibn al Ḥusain. A group of seventy-two of his followers came to Medina from Khorasan, to determine who the real Imam was.

[1] Rose, H. A., Glossary, p. 513. Also see ref. 2.
[2] Ivanow, W., The Rise of the Fatimids, p. 17, n. 1.

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First they went to see Abdulla, who undertook to prove to them that he was the rightful Imam by showing them the armour, the ring, the cane and the turban of the Prophet. As they took their departure they said they would return the next day but as they were leaving Abdullah's house, a man who was in the service of Muhammad Bakir addressed them by their proper names and invited them to the house of his master. Later, as the seventy-two visitors sat in his presence, the Imam Bakir requested his son Ja'far to bring him his ring. This he took in his hand and waved it slightly as he muttered certain words, and to the amazement of all, apparently from the ring itself, fell the armour and the turban and the staff of the Prophet. He put on the armour, placed the turban on his head, and took the staff in his hand. After thus exhibiting them, he removed the turban from his head, and took off the armour, and, as he moved his blessed lips again they all returned to the ring. He proceeded, therefore, to assure his visitors ' that there has never been a true Imam who did not possess the treasure of Karun '. Thus convinced, they acknowledged his right to the Imamate and gave him many valuable presents.[1]

Muḥammad al Bāqir held high rank in learning as his titles indicate. Al Bāqir signifies " the Opener of my knowledge, and the treasurer of the inspiration of Allah."[2] Elsewhere it is said to mean " the ample, because he collected an ample fund of knowledge, that is, scrutinized it and examined into the depths of it.[3] It is to this imamate that Taylor assigns the introduction of metempsychosis, which means the " transmigration of the soul of one Chief of Religion into that of his successor," and its application to the Imams. This doctrine he traces to Buddhism, stating that it has been applied to the Lamas of Tibet " from unknown time."[4] Names of others associated with Muḥammad al Bāqir who were prominent in mystic and esoteric speculations are Jābir ibn Zaid al Ju'fi, a *rāwī* ;[5] Abū al Khaṭṭāb, who started as a *da'i* with Al Bāqir and is credited with the organization of the first movement specifically Baṭinī in type ; and Maimūn, a *rāwī*, and best known perhaps as father of 'Abdullā. Both father and son hold high place in the developments of this period.[6] Although Muḥammad al Bāqir is said to have written some works, none is known to be extant.

[1] Donaldson, *op. cit.*, pp. 117/118.
[2] Fyzee, *op. cit.*, p. 124.
[3] Ibn Khallikan (de Slane), II, p. 579.
[4] Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 162.
[5] Ivanow, *op. cit.*, p. 253.
[6] Lewis, B., The Origins of Ismā'ilism, pp. 32, 63/64.

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The following paragraph given by Sell, using Māthar al Bāqir as his source, illustrates well the thinking at his time :

> He discoursed fully on many topics, such as the nature of the soul of man, the qualities of the 'Ulama and the nature and attributes of God. He discouraged arguments about the divine nature, saying that it was not possible for man to understand it. One day a Mutazilite leader asked what the anger of God meant. He said it was simply punishment, but that this anger was not to be compared to the anger of men. God's nature did not change. He defined a Rasul as a prophet who hears the voice of the angel (of revelation) and sees the angel in a bodily form or in a dream ; a Nabi, he said, is a prophet who also hears the voice of the angel under the same conditions, but does not see him ; the Imam's condition is like that of the Nabi and not like that of the Rasul. He said that the Imams were pure and the ' men of the House ' were free from sin ; that all the world was under their rule ; that through them the eye of God's mercy falls on men ; and that, if they did not exist, men would perish and that they should not fear though worthless fellows might deny all this. Imam Bakir in defending his claims to the Imamate before Hisham quoted the verse, ' This day have I perfected your religion unto you and fulfilled my mercy unto you and appointed Islam to be your religion.' He went on to say that the open revelation being thus perfect, the Prophet made known other secret matters to 'Ali. From amongst the men of the house 'Ali appointed one special person as his special confidant, to whom this heritage of the knowledge of secret things came down.[1]

Characterizing Muḥammad Bāqir's imamate, Donaldson says that " from the point of view of history, both his life and death were inconspicuous." Judged from the standpoint of the activities of the *Khilāfat* from which the Imam held himself aloof, the statement is correct ; but looked at in the light of developing Shiism, his imamate would seem to have been of very great significance for the sect. The number of followers of the Twelvers increased greatly.[2] Al Bāqir himself is rated as one of the two great heads of Shiite law.[3] That he did bring in new teaching is very probable. He is credited with being the writer of sectarian tracts. In the *Ummu'l Kitab* various religious matters are discussed in the form of dialogues between the Imam and his disciples. All the extravagant views found in the writings of Al Baqīr's followers are said to be forgeries of Mughira according

[1] Sell, *op. cit.*, pp. 18/19.
[2] Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 30.
[3] Baillie, N. B. E., A Digest of Moohummadan Law, Imamees.

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to Ja'far Ṣādiq.[1] This perhaps corroborates Shahrastānī's remark " that the Shi'as very often referred their beliefs to their Imams and passed them off as their writings."[2] But it is not likely that writers would have used the name of the Imam to support them. if in his own right Muḥammad Bāqir had not become recognized as an authority. In the summary of the Imam's teaching given from Sell, there is one item, especially, which appears to be new ; namely, " the Imams were pure, and that the ' men of the House ' were free from sin." If the *Sahīfa-i-Kāmila* which is published by the Madrasat al Wa'iẓin, the Theological School of the *Ithnā 'Asharīya*, in Lucknow, is really what it purports to be, *The Prayers of Imam Zain al 'Abidīn*, it supports the view that infallibility of the Imam was a new doctrine, for we find the father of Al Bāqir praying for the intercession of the Prophet and for forgiveness of his sins from God.

> Let me have the intercession of Mohammed—and do not deprive me of his company.
> O Lord—in this third day of the week, grant me three things, viz., *leave me no sin unforgiven*, and no sorrow unremoved, and no enemy undriven by thee. (In a prayer entitled) ' His prayer on the day of Arafah.'—and *behold here I am*, in thy presence, humbled, disgraced, beseeching, crying, afraid, —*confessing the heinous sins with which I have burdened myself, and the great errors I have committed.*—Seeking shelter in thy forgiveness.[3]

However, it would seem that the teaching of the sinless, *ma'ṣūm*, Imam had already been mooted for there are occasional passages like this in the same prayer for use on the day of Arafah :

> O Lord, confer favour on the *holy members of his house*, whom Thou hast chosen for Thy mission, and whom Thou hast made treasurers of Thy knowledge and guardians of Thy religion and Thy vicegerents in Thy earth, and Thy arguments to Thy creatures ; and *whom Thou hast of Thy will, cleansed of impurity and pollution, with a thorough purification* ; and whom Thou hast made to be the medium of approaching Thee and the guides to Thy Paradise.[4]

We may mention in passing, that ' Muḥammad and his family ' are mentioned in almost every prayer, and sometimes repeatedly.

Muḥammad al Baqīr died at Al Humaima. His imamate had

[1] Mujtaba 'Ali, p. 81, n. 35.
[2] Shahrastani, I, p. 189.
[3] Ahmad Ali, Sahifa-i-Kamilah, Nos. 58, 57, 47 ; pp. 337, 335, 261. (Italics mine.)
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 255. (Italics mine.)

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continued through at least nineteen years. Various dates are given for his death, ranging from A.H. 113 to A.H. 143.[1] Donaldson considers that A.H. 113, which is the date preferred by Stanley Lane Poole, is " probably at least ten years too early."[2] He was buried at Baqi' cemetery "under the same dome that covers the tomb of al 'Abbās," with his father and uncle. Some of his followers who insisted that he was concealed and would return, are called the *Bāqirīya*. Another group considered his son Dhakarīya to be the next Imam, but also believed that Al Bāqir still lived and would return. They are the *Hasarīya*.[3]

Ja'far al Ṣādiq, A.H. 114–148

Imam Ja'far al Ṣādiq, the most virile of the Imams of the *Ithnā 'Asharīya*, or ' Twelvers,' occupied the Imamate during the stirring days that marked the close of the Umaiyad and the opening of the 'Abbasid dynasties. Opposition to the Umaiyads had been strong, not alone from the Alids but also from the Hashimites who resented the constant opposition of the ruling family to their clan. Alid or Shiite activity had been greatly stirred after the death of Ḥusain. The *Kaisānīya*, then the most active of the Shiite groups, had been united around the name, if not by person, of Muḥammad the Hanafite in a campaign to avenge the slaying at Kerbala. After his death, his son, Abū Hāshim, succeeded as leader, but he was early put out of the way by Khalīfa Hisham. Before dying, he is said to have passed on his rights to the Imamate to Muḥammad ibn 'Ali ibn 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abbās. This brought together the two strongest anti-Umaiyad parties, for we have seen how Zain al 'Abidīn and Al Bāqir had withdrawn from any part in the political fields. Abū Salma, an ardent Shia, invited Ja'far al Ṣādiq to receive the allegiance of the people, but he only burned the letter and told the messenger that that was his answer. Zaid's rebellion had been a protest against this attitude of *laissez faire*. His son, Yahya, continued the protest by a further rebellion and was also killed.

This new combination, if we can use the word, for Abū Hāshim's ' party ' was scattered, put new life into the 'Abbasids under Muḥammad, who prosecuted his propaganda with vigour. Before

[1] Sell, *op. cit.*, pp. 17/21.
[2] Donaldson, *op. cit.*, pp. 112, 115.
[3] Najm al Ghani Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 403.

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his death he designated his son Ibrāhīm as leader, and heir to such ' rights ' as he had received from Abū Hāshim. Ibrāhīm pushed his campaign in Khorasan where Shiite strength was known to be great. He and his emissaries sought the allegiance of the people to the family of the Prophet—which to the Shias meant the family of 'Ali, but to the leaders of the movement, the family of Hāshim, an uncle of the Prophet and therefore within his family. Ibrāhim died leaving leadership in the hands of his two brothers, Abū al 'Abbās and Abū Ja'far. In 132/749 success crowned their efforts, and under the lead of Abū Muslim, who commanded the Abbasid army, Abū al 'Abbās was acclaimed *Khalīfa* under the title of *Al Saffah*, the bloodshedder, indicative of his purpose to kill off his opponents. Abū al 'Abbās was succeeded in A.H. 136 by his brother Abū al Ja'far who became *Khalīfa* as Al Manṣūr.

It was during this troubled and transitional period that Imam Ja'far was in the Imamate. Shiite opinion was outraged at the twist the victors had given to the meaning of the slogan ' the family of the Prophet,' and the followers of the Ahl al Bait, soon found that their lot was none the better under the new regime. Persecution could be, and often was, no less severe than under the Umaiyads.

Imam Ja'far showed consummate skill in avoiding the enmity of the new dynasty. When he was directed by the *Khalīfa* to move to Iraq, he replied :

> I have heard my father relate from his father, from his grandfather, the Apostle of God—may God bless him and his household and give them peace—that the man who goes away to make a living will achieve his purpose, but he who sticks to his family will prolong his life. Mansur asked, ' Truly, did you hear this from your father, and from your grandfather, the Apostle of God ? ' The Imam said, " Before God, I declare that I did.' Therefore Mansur excused him from the number of persons whom he required to go and live in Irak, and appointed his place of residence in Medina, and gave him permission to remain there with his family.[1]

A common pitfall at that time was one's attitude towards the first two *Khulafā*. The fact that Ja'far's mother was a great-granddaughter of Abū Bakr may have helped, but he publicly declared : "I am quit of anyone who mentioneth Abū Bukr and 'Omar otherwise than favourably."[2] The same ability to steer

[1] Donaldson, *op. cit.*, p. 131.
[2] Al Suyuti, Tarikh al Khulafa, Tr. Jarrett, H. S., p. 125.

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a middle-of-the-road course guided Ja'far through the sectarian waters, which were no less rough than the political, so that he can be rated to-day as the founder of dogmatic Shiism, and also of Ismailism, in both their *ẓāhir* and *bāṭin* aspects.

Imam Ja'far was born in A.H. 80. He is universally distinguished by the title *Al Ṣādiq*, the veracious ; but he is also called at times *Al Ṭaḥir*, the pure one ; and *Al Fāzil*, the excellent one ; all of these titles being tributes to his character and ability, which in general are recognized by both Shias and Sunnis. In his *Biography of the Saints*, Farīd al Dīn 'Aṭṭār gives first place among mystic saints to Ja'far al Ṣādiq.

Shiite records attribute to Ja'far unlimited knowledge. Several Imams are said to have had knowledge of astronomy, alchemy and magic, a sort of occultism sometimes associated with miracles, but Ja'far surpassed them all, being master in all of these arts. He is credited with being teacher of Jābir ibn Haiyan, the great alchemist well known through the Middle Ages, who compiled a work of two thousand pages, " in which he inserted the problems of his master Jaafar as Sadik which formed five hundred treatises."[1] Ruska's studies indicate that the writings attributed to Jābir belong to the latter half of the ninth and the first half of the tenth centuries, and that they cannot support the claim that Ja'far had taught Jābir.[2] A book with mysterious knowledge purporting to be a record of past and future events from the creation to the resurrection, including a time when the earth was inhabited only by ants, or other animals, is also said to have been written by Ja'far. Ivanow simply says that none of Ja'far's books is preserved.

We are on firmer ground when we deal with Ja'far as a teacher and thinker. Of him in this field, Ameer Ali writes :

> Extremely liberal and rationalistic in his views,—a scholar, a poet, and a philosopher, apparently well read in some of the foreign languages—in constant contact with cultured Christians, Jews and Zoroastrians, with whom metaphysical disputations were frequent,—he impressed a distinct philosophical character on the Medinite school.[3]

Apparently the school was conducted somewhat like a forum, but its influence may be seen in the work of men who attended it. One of these was Wāṣil ibn 'Atā, reputed to be the founder of

[1] Ibn Khallikan (de Slane), pp. 300/301.
[2] Ruska, Is. Cul XI, 30/36, 303/312 ; The Jabir Problem.
[3] Ameer Ali, The Spirit of Islam, p. 411.

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the Mutazilite school which in turn had a lasting influence on Shiite thought. To this we have referred earlier.

A second pupil was Abū Ḥanīfa, founder of the school which bears his name and which is the leading one of the four Sunnite schools of law. He largely discarded tradition as unreliable for legal procedure, taking in its place Quranic texts and, with *ra'i* and *qiyās*, developing its details. He had in mind the viewpoint of conquered peoples for whom there needs to be adjustment in law to meet the conditions of new countries where it was to be applied. He used a form of *ijtihād* known as *istiḥsān*, a form of analogy described by Macdonald as " holding for the better." He did not complete his system, for this was done by two of his pupils, and their position in the Abbasid dynasty partly accounts for the high place the system holds. In later years Abū Ḥanīfa criticized the Abbasids by declaring :

> That if such men would build a *masjid* (Moslem house of prayer) and command him to the simple task of counting the bricks, he would not do it, ' for they are dissolute (fasik), and the dissolute are not worthy of the authority of leadership.' Ultimately Mansur heard of this remark and cast Abu Hanifa into prison, where he remained until his death. It was his suffering on account of this statement that gained for him the friendship of the Shi'ites.[1]

Ibn Khallikān relates an incident of humour which probably often marked the relations of these men for whom life was both serious and dangerous, but whose associations were withal human as our own. Ja'far asked Abū Ḥanīfa his opinion regarding a pilgrim wearing the *ihrām* who broke the canine teeth of a gazelle, to which Abū Ḥanīfa answered : " Son of the Prophet of God ! I don't know what to say on the subject." Then Ja'far said, " You who are a man of quick mind, do not know that gazelles have no canine teeth, but only incisors."[2]

A third pupil was Mālik ibn Anās, a former 'Alid. He attributed to his teacher the basic principle he used in arriving at decisions concerning traditions : " What is in agreement with the Book of God, accept it, and whatever is contrary, reject it." His *Muwaṭṭa'* is not one of the six accepted books of tradition but it has high standing. He once gave a decision that the oath of allegiance given under compulsion was not binding. For this he was publicly flogged, but he continued as Chief Justice under the Abbasids ;

[1] Donaldson, *op. cit.*, p. 134.
[2] Ibn Khallikan (de Slane), p. 301.

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and his system of law has held high place in the west, especially in North Africa.

Not only in the lasting influence that he exerted through his pupils, but in other ways, Ja'far al Ṣādiq stands first as *the* strongest of the 'Twelver' Imams. One need only make a cursory reading of the Shiite Creed to see how completely it is built on bases he laid down. This is equally true in regard to the doctrine of the Fatimids which is almost entirely based on traditions traced to Imam Ja'far.

New doctrines which found their place in Shiism at this time, with which Ja'far had much to do, include: attributing good to God and not evil; the impossibility of seeing God in this world or the next; the light-ray theory for the divine Imamate.[1] If Abū'l Khaṭṭāb was the first to read the Qur'ān so as to see its allegorical meaning,[2] which to a Sunni is apostasy, Imam Ja'far became the leading exponent of the idea in Shiism, insisting that only the Imam who was enlightened by divine wisdom, could reveal its true sense. O'Leary agrees with Van Vloten in crediting the Hashimites and the Kaisānīya with the general promulgation of these beliefs through a well organized system of dais.[3] But Mujtaba 'Ali, basing his remark on Ibn Khaldun, asserts that "*Da'is* of Jafar Sadiq had spread the propaganda of the Batiniyya in Maghrib."[4]

Bearing in mind Ja'far's many contributions to the development of Shiite beliefs, Ivanow contends that he is the "real founder of Shiism as a separate theological school." Donaldson refers to a rumour that a *khalīfa* had suggested the inclusion of the Shias as a fifth division in the *Ijma'*, or Muslim community, with Imam Ja'far recognized as the head of the "Ja'fari school," but that the cash payment for this concession could not be raised.[5] Years after (1148/1736), Nādir Shāh, on accepting the Persian throne, did so "with the stipulation that the Persian nation should abandon the Shia heresy." To facilitate the change he renewed the above suggestion:

> Let us all become Sunnis. . . . But as every national religion should have a head, let the holy Imam Jafar, who is of the family of the Prophet and whom we all reverence, be our head.[6]

[1] Donaldson, *op. cit.*, pp. 133/141.
[2] Mamour, P. H., Polemics on the Origin of the Fatimi Caliphs, p. 46, n. 1.
[3] O'Leary, de L., History of the Fatimid Khalifate, p. 7.
[4] Mujtaba Ali, *op. cit.*, p. 6.
[5] Donaldson, *op. cit.*, p. 287.
[6] Sykes, P., History of Persia, p. 273.

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The chief Mujtahid advised him to give his attention to temporal matters and he died suddenly. It was Nādir's hope by this step to unite Islam. But he never succeeded. At his death his supporters fell away.

Authorities seem to agree that Jā'far's first wife was called Fāṭima. So long as she lived he followed the example of the Prophet with Khadīja, and married no other. He " for twenty-five years had no son except Ismā'īl and his brother, 'Abdullāh."[1] After Fāṭima's death he married again and had other children. He died in 148/765, at the age of sixty-eight. He was buried in the Baqi' cemetery. His followers continue the tradition that no Imam can die a natural death, by accusing Al Manṣūr with causing Ja'far's death by poisoned grapes which he sent to him through the governor of Medina.

[1] Ja'far ibn Mansur, *op. cit.*, p. 98 ; Tr. p. 295.

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CHAPTER VI

THE IMAMS OF THE ITHNA 'ASHARIYA, II

Mūsā Kāẓim, d. 183/799

THE death of Imam Ja'far was the occasion for the greatest schism in Shiism. The larger group accepting Mūsā, who had been nominated by Ja'far on the death of his eldest son, Ismā'īl, became for the time being, the *Musawīya*, or party of Mūsā. We shall continue our account of the Imams of the *Ithnā 'Asharīya* in this line, and return later to the narrative of the *Ismā'īlīya*, as the followers of the other sect are called. Mamour describes the division in the sect as following largely national lines, the Persians almost unanimously accepting Mūsā, while "Arabia and the countries westward to it being those who adhered to Ismā'īl."[1] The Safavian dynasty established in Persia in the sixteenth century traced the descent of its founder, Shah Ismā'īl to Imām Mūsā, who is sometimes spoken of as the second son of Ja'far but was probably the fourth son.[2] His mother, Hamīda, is said to have been a Barbary slave,[3] described by Ivanow as a Maghribi negro concubine."[4] At the time of his succession to the Imamate, Mūsā was " under eighteen,"[5] or twenty years of age.[6] He died in Baghdad in A.H. 183 after serving as Imām for thirty-three years, the longest service of any of the Imams of the Twelvers, covering in part or in whole the reigns of four Abbasid *khulafā*.

Owing to persecution the Shias had to work underground, but rebellions of greater or lesser strength, at Mosul under al Manṣūr's reign, in Khorasan under al Mahdī, and a little later in Mecca and Medina, which were all attributed to Shias or their sympathizers, revealed continued vigour in the movement. The last-named rebellion was precipitated by some of the house of 'Ali drinking wine, for which " they were paraded with halters about their necks in the streets of the holy cities."[7] One who escaped

[1] Mamour, *op. cit.*, p. 70.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 64, n. 2; Donaldson, *op. cit.*, p. 153.
[3] Najm al Ghani Khan, Madhahib al Islam, p. 428.
[4] Ismailis and Quarmatians, JBBRAS, XVI, 1940, p. 57.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] Najm al Ghani Khan, *op. cit.*, pp. 466/467.
[7] Muir, *op. cit.*, pp. 466/467.

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at that time was Idris, the great grandson of 'Ali, and with the help of postal relays succeeded in getting to Tangier, where he laid the foundation of the Idrīsid dynasty. The Egyptian post-master who helped him to escape was beheaded. Later in the Imamate, Shiite influence in the court of the *Khalīfa* increased through the Barmakids who secretly sympathized with them.

Early in his Imamate an elder brother, 'Abdullāh, challenged Mūsā's claim to the office. Mūsā invited him and other friends for an evening at his home. For awhile traditions were repeated, and then at Mūsā's order, a pile of wood was set ablaze, and Mūsā stood in the midst of the flames without damage to body or clothing. He challenged his brother 'Abdullāh to verify his claim by the same test, but 'Abdullāh " changed colour and left the assembly."[1]

If persecution decreased, careful surveillance of the Imām did not. Much of the time Mūsā was allowed to live quietly at Medina, but Khalīfa al Mahdī arranged to have him in his company on a pilgrimage and both he and Hārūn al Rashīd imprisoned him for intervals. Twice he was released from Prison, once by al Mahdī when 'Ali ibn Abī Tālib appeared to him in a vision, and once by Hārūn al Rashīd when he had a vision of an Abyssinian coming to him with a javelin in his hand, ordering the release. Hārūn al Rashīd obeyed the order and gave thirty thousand dirhams to the Imām, who was permitted to return to Medina. But at another time, before proceeding on pilgrimage to Mecca he had Mūsā imprisoned in Basra, and then in Baghdad. There he died, as the Shias believe, from poison. Before burial, the unusual precaution was taken of assembling " the leaders and the writers, the members of the house of Hashim, and the judges, and whoever was in Baghdad from the descendants of 'Ali ibn Abī Tālib." They were shown his face so that they might be satisfied that there was no wound. Whether this procedure was to save the *khalīfa*, or to make less likely extreme claims by the *Musawīya* is nowhere stated. He was buried in the Quraish cemetery near Baghdad.

> His tomb is a well known object of pilgrimage, and over it is erected a large chapel containing an immense quantity of gold and silver lamps, with divers sorts of furniture and carpets.[2]

Mūsā's most familiar title is that of al Kāẓim, ' the Patient '

[1] Donaldson, *op. cit.*, p. 54.
[2] Ibn Khallikan (de Slane), p. 464.

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or, as Sell explains, " one who restrains—because he exercised great control over his passions and desires."[1] Another familiar title is 'Abd al Salih, ' the holy servant.'[2] His sufferings and his pure exalted character endeared him greatly to all classes of people. He is said to have been very generous and to have devoted much time to prayer and the reading of the Qur'ān.[3] One night he made a prostration which lasted until the morning, continuously repeating :

> O thou who art the object of (our) fear! O thou whom it becometh to shew mercy! Let thy pardon be kindly granted to me whose sin is so grievous.[4]

Mūsā had a large family. According to Jannat al Khulūd

> he had no legal wife, all his children were from slaves, whose names are not known, but this does not affect their nobility, for the essential condition is their father.[5]

The number of his children is variously given as from thirty to sixty. The usual number is thirty-seven.[6]

As had happened with his predecessors, so at Musa's death, his followers split. Some considered the series of Imams to have closed with him.[7] They continued the name Musawīya, and are doubtless followers of a tradition of a cycle of ' seven '. Others considered Mūsā to be ' concealed ' and that he would return as the Mahdī at the end of the age. No better evidence is needed to show the *late origin* of traditions which represent the Prophet, or 'Ali, as reciting the names of the twelve Imams, with details of their lives, than is afforded by this recurring process of sub-dividing because of uncertainty as to how to proceed or whom to follow.

'Ali al Riḍā, d. 203/818

For roughly one hundred and forty years the Imams of the Twelvers had eschewed political activity. Though insisting that he did not wish to do so but that he acted in obedience to the orders of the *khalīfa*, al Riḍā became the hero in a drama that

[1] Sell, Canon, Studies in Islam, p. 59.
[2] Donaldson, *op. cit.*, p. 156.
[3] Ameer, Ali, *op. cit.*, p. 345.
[4] Ibn Khallikan, *op. cit.*, pp. 463/464.
[5] Donaldson, *op. cit.*, p. 155.
[6] Strothmann, R., EI, Musa al Kazim.
[7] Sell, Canon, Ithna 'Ashariya, p. 32.

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led to speaking of him as " The Imam involved in Politics."[1] Whether by subtle planning, or by *qismat*, fate, al Riḍā almost achieved the position that his predecessors had claimed as their right.

Al Ma'mūn, son of Hārūn al Rashīd, had established himself as sole ruler of the Abbasid empire by defeating in battle his brother, Amir. His *wazīr*, al Faḍl ibn Sahl, had been won over to the Shiite faith on one of the visits that had been made to Baghdad by Imām Mūsā or Imām 'Ali al Riḍā, and under his influence, the *khalīfa* also had become interested in Shiite beliefs, even friendly to that community.[2] Perhaps with a view to strengthening his own position politically,[3] by winning Shiite support in the west where Amir had been strong ; perhaps also in an effort to bring the Shiite and the Sunni communities together, al Ma'mūn had decided to name the most worthy of the Shiite community to be his successor in the *khilāfat*. To effect this plan, he informed al Riḍā of his intention, and invited him to join him at Merv. Al Riḍā took the route through Mecca and Basra so as to avoid Kūfa, and finally arrived at Merv. Here he was received with great honour by the *khalīfa*, who went so far as to offer him the *khilāfat*. But al Riḍā refused this inasmuch as God had given it to al Ma'mūn, and he had no right to divest himself of it. But he did accept the offer to succeed if he would not be responsible for the purely secular affairs of state. A great *darbar* was held in 201/816, when thirty-three thousand were present. 'Ali al Riḍā was officially introduced as the heir apparent. Al Ma'mūn also gave him his daughter, Umm al Faḍl, in marriage, and decreed that hereafter, instead of the black banners and apparel that distinguished the Abbasids, green, the colour of the house of 'Ali, should be used. A brother of the Imām was made governor of Kūfa, while another was appointed as the presiding officer at the annual pilgrimage. 'Ali's name was also added in the inscription on coins, which now read : " The King of God and the Faith, al Ma'mūn, Amīr, and Khalīfa of the Faithful, and al Riḍā, Imām of the Muslims."[4] This practice of using the title Imām was continued by Ma'mūn's successors.

In the far outlying district of Khorasan there was general approval of this action. But in Baghdad the news produced con-

[1] Donaldson, *op. cit.*, p. 161.
[2] Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 165.
[3] Donaldson, *op. cit.*, pp. 164, 166/167.
[4] Sell, Canon, Ithna 'Ashariya, p. 32.

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sternation. There the Arab party deposed Ma'mūn, and proclaimed Ibrāhīm ibn Mahdī, an uncle of Ma'mūn, as *khalīfa*, a position he held for two years. Al Faḍl ibn Sahl had failed to keep his sovereign informed on developments and soon was put out of the way. Ma'mūn concealed his guilt by executing those who had been instigated to effect the murder of the *wazīr*. Al Faḍl's brother was appointed in his place. When Ma'mūn's army was defeated by Ibrāhīm, Ma'mūn knew that he had attempted more than he could complete. Tension between him and the Imām developed and grew, and the Imām realized that his end was near. Accounts vary as to just how he died, but the Shiite record says, " poisoned by Ma'mūn, may Allah curse him."[1] Relieved thus of both Ibn Sahl and the Imām, Ma'mūn was received again in Baghdad.

'Ali al Riḍā was buried in a garden at Sanabad in a grave within the tomb of Hārūn al Rashīd, now known as " The Glory of the Shi'a World." The place of the tomb is said to have been forgotten for many generations until once when the son of the *wazīr* of Sulṭān Sanjar of Ṭūs was in the vicinity on a hunt. Near the site of the tomb his horse stopped and could not be persuaded to advance. So the young hunter dismounted, and going into the ruined building prayed to the Imam, and was at once healed of his disease. This led to the repair of the shrine, since which time it has been maintained and enlarged.[2]

Al Ma'mūn had desired to bury the Imām under the centre of the dome, the account continues, so that

> his accursed father might attain his salvation from the contact of his body with that of the sacred Imam ; but that no tool could break the Caliph's tomb, may the curse of Allah be upon him! And, lo! a miracle befell as, while the workers were toiling in a discouraged fashion, they suddenly saw a grave ready dug in the northwest corner, and there the innocent martyr was buried with his feet towards the head of Harun al Rashid, the accursed.[3]

In connection with the shrine at Mashhad there is a library where may be found commentaries on the Qur'ān according to Shiite interpretation ; books on Shiite tradition with suggestions on the early development of Shiite beliefs and stories of the Imams which deserve careful study.[4] The tomb has become a principal

[1] Fyzee, A. A. A., A Shi'ite Creed, p. 102.
[2] Sykes, P., The Glory of the Shia World, p. 238/239.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 253.
[4] Ivanow, W., Library attached to the Shrine of Imam Riza, JRAS, 1920 pp. 535 ff.

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place of Shiite pilgrimage, and the town that has grown up near it is known as Mashhad. The following lines evince the estimation in which the shrine is held by Shias :

Mash-had afzal tari rui Zamin ast
Ke an-ja nur-i Rabb ul'alamin ast.

Mashhad is the most excellent spot on the face of the earth
For there is to be found the light of the Lord of the Creation.[1]

A regular motor service provides for pilgrims from India. To visit the shrine is a means of great merit, and many there are who visit it.[2]

'Ali al Riḍā was Imām from A.H. 183–203. His mother was a Persian, a slave.[3] 'Ali's complexion was dark.[4] He is described as a courteous, well-mannered gentleman, friendly with all whom he met, kind and generous to his servants, a man of piety, humble in deportment and devoid of all pride. He was generous to the poor, sympathetic with sorrowful Shias. He was strict in the performance of religious duties. His titles witness to his contentment, piety and patience. Donaldson speaks of the affection with which people seem to regard him.

But what, we must ask, of 'Ali al Riḍā as the leader of his community ? In this important sphere we find that he was both active and courageous. There are suggestions of an extensive da'wat, or organized propaganda, reaching both officials and the masses. The conversion of Ibn Sahl, whether by 'Ali or his father, indicates the former, while Browne gives an example of the latter in his account of one Ḥusain ibn Manṣūr al Haltaj, who

> was originally one of the missionaries or propagandists of 'Ali ar Rida . . . in which capacity he was arrested and punished by scourging in Kuhistan, in Persia.[5]

Following the *darbar* when 'Ali was announced by the *khalīfa* to be his successor, several all-religions conferences were held. In these the Imām had an important part in the planning and also in the discussions when, we can be sure, the Shiite point of view was set forth. The ferment aroused by Greek and Persian influences in the realm of thought which had marked the *khilāfat* of Hārūn al Rashīd, continued through this period, and in such conferences, religious positions were closely scrutinized.

[1] Ameer Ali, *op. cit.*, p. 488.
[2] For account of this shrine, see Donaldson, *op. cit.*, XVI.
[3] Donaldson, *op. cit.*, p. 164.
[4] Najm al Ghani Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 429.
[5] Browne, *op. cit.*, I, p. 429.

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Mutazilism was running strong. Referring to the Shiite positions on certain subjects then keenly debated, Ameer Ali says :

> These views are repeated with greater emphasis by the eighth Imam, Ali ar Rida, who denounced Jabr (predestinarianism) and Tashbih (anthropomorphism) as absolute infidelity, and declared the upholders of those doctrines to be ' the enemies of the Faith.' He openly charged the advocates of Jabr and Tashbih with fabricating of traditions.[1]

The Imām also refuted the arguments of the Mutazilites that grave sins will not be forgiven by Allah. If they are not guilty of *shirk*, adulterers, winedrinkers and thieves may be saved.[2]

Al Ma'mun's interest in the Shiite cause did not cease with 'Ali's death, nor after his return to Baghdad. He zealously canvassed the doctrines of the Mutazilites, and in A.H. 212 publicly announced, by decree, his acceptance of freedom of the will in place of predestination, and that the Qur'ān was created and not " uncreate and eternal " as the orthodox had constantly held. A little later he declared his acceptance of the dogma that after Muḥammad, 'Ali was the chief of mankind, a dogma on which the Imamate had been built, which makes possible another infallible source of guidance.[3] He also legalized *mut'a* marriage.[4]

If others of the Mutazilite school were directly responsible for winning the *khalīfa* to these positions so distasteful to the orthodox Sunnis, but shared by the Shias, it is certain that we must give due credit to Imām 'Ali al Riḍā, who early aroused Al Ma'mun's interest in these directions. In these new doctrines Ma'mūn was strongly opposed by Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, who was beaten and imprisoned, but the positions were maintained with even greater zeal after Ma'mūn by the *khalīfa*, al Wathik. On the death of 'Ali al Riḍā his followers who considered that the Imamate stopped here, and who did not recognize his descendants, formed a group known as the Wāqifīya.

Muḥammad al Taqī, d. 220 /835

Historians have differed regarding the name of the mother of Muḥammad ibn 'Ali ibn Mūsā al Taqī. Some speak of her as Khaizaran who was from Constantinople ; or Sabekah or Rehana,[1]

[1] Ameer Ali, *op. cit.*, p. 412.
[3] Fyzee, *op. cit.*, p. 68, n. 6.
[3] Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 503.
[4] Nicholson, R. A., A Literary History of the Arabs, p. 262.
[5] Najm al Ghani Khan, *op. cit.*, p.429.

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or Habibi, a Nubian.[1] In any case, she was not the legal wife of 'Ali al Riḍā, but a concubine.[1] When Imām al Riḍā left Medina for Merv, he took with him his small son, Muḥammad, and in Mecca, the boy made the circum-ambulations of the Ka'ba on the shoulders of a servant. That was in the year A.H. 200. Presumably, the son returned to Medina when the father continued his long journey, for at the time of 'Ali's death, Muḥammad was living in Medina. He was then seven years and some months,[2] or nine years old.[1] The Waqifīya sect had troubled Imām 'Ali al Riḍā because he was childless. After the birth of his son, Muḥammad, al Riḍā, replying to the question of the Waqifīya as to who would succeed him, answered that Muḥammad Taqī would.

> The objection was then raised that he was only three years old. The objector was referred to the verse which represents the child Jesus as saying : " I am the servant of God. He hath given me the book and he hath made me a Prophet." and so his age was no barrier to Taqi's proceeding to the Imamat.[3]

The reply did not satisfy the Waqifīya. They refused to recognize 'Ali's descendants as Imams, insisting that the Imamate stopped with 'Ali al Riḍā. Imams that followed were spoken of by this group as " ibn Riḍā."

The decision of the Waqifīya grew out of an important question touching the Imamate : Can a minor be an Imām ? Their answer was ' no .' Light is thrown on this discussion by the author of *Asrar al Nutaqa,* who carried on a controversy with the *Ithnā 'Asharīya*, replying perhaps to a writer or to a particular individual among the Twelvers who is not named. The following passages are relevant :

> A sect after his death ('Ali ar Rida's) recognised as the Imam his son Muhammad b. 'Ali. His father, being summoned by al-Mamun, had left him behind in Medina as a small child in his house. When he, 'Ali b. Musa, died, he left him only five years old. But all the Shi'ites believe that the (real) Imam never leaves this world without appointing as his successor his grown-up son possessing all the rights to act as an Imam (in communal prayers), and to receive his father's inheritance. As is known, a child of five to ten years of age, according to law, cannot issue orders, his witness cannot be accepted (in the court of law), and his judgment cannot be relied upon.

[1] Donaldson, *op. cit.*, p. 190.
[2] Najm al Ghani Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 429.
[3] Sell, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

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> Witness cannot be accepted from the man who cannot lead the communal prayers, who cannot be permitted to sacrifice animals. We have not seen any one amongst the ancient kings of Jews or Christians, or others, practising such things, or accepting these (in principle). . . .
> And you say :—' Verily, he ('Ali b. Musa) appointed him (his son Muhammad) before he left him behind on his departure.' How could he have appointed as his executor a minor ? Both we and you accept the belief that the appointment takes place by the order of God and His inspiration of the parent who appoints his son, as mentioned above, on the basis of reliable testimony. Is it possible to any one in ordinary life to appoint as his trustee his son while he is a minor ?[1]

Writing of the Ismailis, Ivanow says that "there was a rigid principle that a minor cannot be the Imam."[2] In the attitude of the Waqifīya, and in the argument of the author quoted above, we are probably witnessing the development of the Imamate in this particular point of the succession of a minor. The *Imāmīya*, i.e., the *Ithnā 'Asharīya*, whether in emergency, or for other reason, have accepted the possibility of a child becoming the Imām and recognize henceforth, only one method for appointing the Imām, namely his designation, *naṣṣ*, by the preceding Imām. All other methods are ruled out.[3]

The *Ithnā 'Asharīya* not only believe that Muḥammad Taqi was designated by his father to succeed him, but accounts of his extreme precocity are given as evidence that he was prepared by God, also, for his place. While yet a boy, he went to Baghdad and was out playing with some other boys when the *khalīfa*, with a large retinue of servants passed by on a shooting trip. Of the children, Muḥammad alone did not run away.

> Mamun was pleased and said, ' Child, who are you, why did you not run away ? ' Taqi replied : ' O Amir, the road was not so narrow that from fear I should flee.' ' Who is your father ? ' ' Imam Muhammad Abi ibn Rida.' Then Mamun was sad and rode off. When he returned he saw the same group of children, and the same thing happened again and Mamun was delighted with Taqi's apt replies. To the suggestion that it was not dignified for the young Imam to be playing with other boys. it is said that he was simply looking on and standing apart.[4]

The charming, unspoiled manner of the lad won the heart of

[1] Ja'far ibn Mansur, *op. cit.*, p. 89 ; Tr. pp. 285/286.
[2] Rise of the Fatimids, p. 56.
[3] Hasan, Sd. Najmul, Al Nubuwwat wa'l Khilafat, pp. 23/24.
[4] Sell, *op. cit.*, pp. 37/38.

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al Mamun and he invited him to live in his palace. Here he was invited to attend the meetings of learned men. In these, the young Imām was asked many an intricate question and always he was ready and clever in his replies. So pleased was Al Ma'mūn that he wished to give his daughter in marriage to the Imām. The very suggestion raised a storm of protest from the Abbasids, but when they had other opportunities to see young Muḥammad interrogated and to hear his ready replies, they withdrew their objections and the marriage was solemnized. Al Ma'mūn gave a gift of one hundred thousand dirhams to the Imām and said, " Surely I would like to be a grandfather in the line of the Apostle of God and of 'Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib."[1] After nearly a year, the Imām was permitted to go to Medina to live. But the marriage was unhappy. The wife found fault with her husband and frequently complained to her father. After three years in Medina, they returned to Baghdad to live. They remained here until after Al Ma'mūn's death, when they went back to Medina, but they were allowed to stay there only a short time before the new *khalīfa*, Mu'tasim, summoned them back to Baghdad again. Here the Imām died at the age of twenty-five, said to have been poisoned by al Mu'tasim. The funeral service was read by al Wathik, the son of the *khalīfa*. Muḥammad Taqī is buried in the Quraish cemetery near his grandfather, Mūsā al Kāẓim. The shrine of Kāẓimain, 'the two Kazims,' Mūsā ibn Ja'far and Muḥammad Taqī, is still resorted to by pilgrims.[2]

Imām Muḥammad Taqī was best known by the titles of al Taqī, which refers to his temperance or piety, and al Jawad, which denotes his generosity. The Shias are profuse in praise of his character and learning. It seems probable that in the circumstances his best work could be teaching those who came to him for light and information.

'Ali al Naqī, d. 254/868

The tenth Imām of the 'Twelvers' was born in A.H. 212 or 214 in Medina. His father was then seventeen or nineteen years old. 'Ali was only six or eight years of age when his father died, being the second " boy Imam " ; but like his father he was precocious in learning and outstanding in ability. He had been designated by Muḥammad Taqī as his successor. The story of his Imamate

[1] Donaldson, *op. cit.*, p. 190.
[2] For an account of this shrine, see Donaldson, *op. cit.*, XVIII.

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is the story of a prisoner of the *khalīfa*. Al Ma'mūn was still living when 'Ali Naqī was born. His friendliness toward the family of the Prophet was continued under his successors, al Mu'tasim and al Wathik, but when in A.H. 232 al Mutawakkil succeeded to the throne, there was a recurrence of persecution, not only of the Shias, but also of Jews, Christians and Mutazilites. It was during this reign, in 237/851, that pilgrimages to the tombs of 'Ali and al Ḥusain were prohibited and the shrine of the latter was destroyed and the ground ploughed up.

For twelve years 'Ali Naqī lived in quiet in Medina, occupied primarily with teaching, for many paths from many directions led to the house of the Imām. Then the new *khalīfa* called him to live in Samarra, north of Baghdad, also called al Askar, for it was built by Mu'tasim as the cantonment for his army, though it came to replace Baghdad as the capital after A.H. 222. Here, for two years 'Ali Naqī was entertained as the guest of the *khalīfa* and then life changed. He was assigned poor quarters in the 'slum' section of the city and lived there without complaint. He was always under guard and observation. He was, however, allowed freedom of receiving visitors and of walking or riding out into the city. Reports were frequently made to the *khalīfa*, and more than once, conditions were privately checked by his orders, but though nothing incriminating was found, the spying continued.

Ibn Khallikan relates an account of one of these searches, probably of the time he was still in Medina. The *khalīfa*, al Mutawakkil, had received information that

> the Imam had a quantity of arms, books and other objects for the use of his followers concealed in his house, and being induced by malicious reports to believe that he aspired to the empire, one night he sent some soldiers of the Turkish guard to break in on him when he least expected such a visit. They found him quite alone and locked up in his room, clothed in a hair shirt, his head covered with a woolen cloak, and turned with his face in the direction of Mecca; chanting, in this attitude, some verses of the Quran expressive of God's promises and threats, and having no other carpet between him and the earth than sand and gravel. He was carried off in that attire, and brought, in the depth of night, before al Mutawakkil, who was then engaged in drinking wine.[1]

The *khalīfa* received him courteously and on learning that nothing was found to support the reports he had heard, offered

[1] Ibn Khallikan (de Slane), p. 215.

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the Imam a drink from his goblet. The Imam asked to be excused from drinking; and then, at Mutawakkil's insistence, repeated some verses which listeners thought would arouse the *khalīfa* to anger. But instead, they saw "tears trickling down his beard." He then asked the Imam if he were in debt. He replied that he was indebted to the amount of four thousand dinars. This the *khalīfa* paid and sent him home. 'Ali Naqī survived al Mutawakkil's reign of fifteen years and also the short reigns of al Muntasir and al Mustain.

It was while confined by Mutawakkil that the Imam was visited by one Safra, who

> found the Imam sitting on a mat by the side of an open grave which made him very sad and he wept. The Imam bade him not to grieve, for he himself had suffered no loss by these evil doings, and that he kept the open grave to make himself humble before God.[1]

To the Twelver the death of 'Ali Naqī was in keeping with their belief:

> And verily the Prophet and Imams, on whom be peace, had informed (people) that they would all be murdered. He who says they were not murdered has verily given them the lie. And he who declares them to be false has imputed falsehood to Allah, the Mighty and Glorious, and denied him and goes out of Islam.[2]

And so we read that he "was poisoned." This was not by Mutawakkil as claimed,[3] for if the year of his death as usually given, 254/868, is correct, al Mutazz was the *khalīfa*. 'Ali Naqī was buried in the compound of his house in Samarra. He left two sons, Ḥasan and Ja'far, and Ḥasan performed the funeral ceremonies.

> His high qualities are duly set forth by Shi'ah historians. Allowing for the fulsome flattery which characterizes their accounts of the Imam, it does appear that Imam 'Ali Naqi was a good-tempered, quiet man, who all his days suffered much from Mutawakkil's hatred, and under it all preserved his dignity, and exhibited his patience.[4]

Titles by which he became known were al Naqi, the pure one; and al Askari, from the place of his confinement for nearly twenty years. A small group deified him after his death.

[1] Sell, *op. cit.*, p. 44.
[2] Fyzee, *op. cit.*, p. 103.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 102.
[4] Sell, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

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Ḥasan al Askari, d. 260/873

Ḥasan al Askari, unlike his father and grandfather, came to the arduous responsibilities of an Imām at the more mature age of twenty-two or twenty-three years, in A.H. 254. The Abbasid dynasty was fast deteriorating. For their protection, the *khulafā*, from the time of al Ma'mūn, had hired Turkish troops. These literally arrogated to themselves power, keeping the *khulafā* prisoners in their palaces, while they directed the government. Ḥasan was born in Medina and came with his father to Samarra when he was four or five years old. He is also known as al Askari. Other titles that were given him were al Khālis, the Pure; al Zakī, the Righteous.[1] His time was spent in studies and devotion. Besides the religious subjects which we take for granted, the Imām seems to have acquainted himself with some foreign languages. It is said that he talked Turkish with Turks, Persian with Persians, and *Hindi with pilgrims from India*![2] There is every reason to believe that the Imams, particularly the later ones, were visited not only by leaders of the sect, but by pilgrims from afar.

His confinement seems to have been more strict than that of his father, and it would appear that the *khulafā* wished to get rid of him. One unusual method for securing this was tried. The *khalīfa* had a high-spirited mule which he was unable to control, so he welcomed the suggestion to have the Imām break it in, hoping that in trying to do so he would be killed. But the Imām was able to ride it without trouble. At another time Mu'tamid had him put in a cage of lions. Instead of tearing the Imām to pieces, they bowed down before him and he spread his prayer mat and said his *namāz* in their midst.[3]

Donaldson gives an interesting account of 'Ali Naqī's efforts to secure a Christian slave as wife for his son Ḥasan. Her name was Narjis (Narcissus). She was in all probability, a slave taken from somewhere in the Byzantine empire, but to say she was a princess may be only a story to enhance the nobility of the Twelfth Imām.[4]

At one time the Imam was kept in solitary confinement.

As he was up till now (after the experience with the lions)

[1] Najm al Ghani Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 431.
[2] Donaldson, *op. cit.*, p. 218. (Italics mine.)
[3] Sell, Canon, Studies in Islam, p. 61.
[4] Donaldson, *op. cit.*, pp. 218/223.

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> childless, it was hoped that the line of the Imams would come to an end. In order that he might be under close observation his prison now was a room in the lower part of the royal palace, and his favourite wife was not allowed to be with him. The room had only one door and no windows, through which light or air could come in, and from the dampness of the ground there was no escape. He was confined here for two years, and though a young man of twenty-four years of age he had the appearance of an old man of seventy. The Imam bore all this calmly and quietly.[1]

Later, Mu'tamid had the Imām released and permitted him to go to his own house. He was closely watched but no cause of disloyalty was found. Then the *khalīfa* shut off his income from the "rasm i khams," the one-fifth, a tax intended for charitable purposes, and particularly for descendants of the Prophet, and used also by the Imams. Deprived of this, the Imām was greatly inconvenienced, but his spirit was not moved. He died at Samarra in A.H. 260 There was an uproar in the city when news of his death spread, but after the officials and Hashimites had joined the procession things quieted down. Ḥasan was buried in Samarra near his father's grave. Large crowds attended the funeral, and partook in the funeral prayers. Everywhere was sadness and since there was no need for *taqīya* they showed their grief openly.[2]

Ḥasan's brother, Ja'far, has received noteworthy attention. Some circles recognized him instead of Ḥasan al Askarī, or his son, and even "occasionally placed him above 'Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib himself." The *Ithnā 'Asharīya* refer to him as al-Kadhib.[3] Another group, calling themselves the *Ja'farīya*, deny that Ḥasan al 'Askarī had a son and recognize Ja'far ibn 'Ali Naqī as his successor; while some say that the Imamate stopped here.[4]

After touching on other accounts of the origin of the Nusairis, Sell says:

> A more probable explanation is that their present name comes from Muhammad ibn Nosair, a disciple of the eleventh Imam, Hasan al Askari.[5]

L. Massignon says he called himself the Bāb of the tenth Imām, 'Ali Naqī, and of his eldest son, Muḥammad, who died before

[1] Sell, Canon, Ithna 'Ashariya, p. 49.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 51.
[3] Strothman, R., History of Islamic Heresiography, Is. Cul. XII, 13.
[4] Najm al Ghani Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 417.
[5] Sell, Canon, Cult of 'Ali, pp. 23/24.

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him in A.H. 294.[1] In this, Sell finds a reason for the difference between the Nusairis and the Ismailis, differences that were deepened by the efforts of the latter to conquer them in their home in Syria.

Muḥammad al Muntaẓar, al Qā'im

The opinion of the *Ja'farīya*, who insisted that Ḥasan al 'Askarī had no son, is shared by some heresiographers. Ibn Hazm refers to the variety of views concerning this Imām which he found among the *Ithnā 'Asharīya*, as for instance: (1) that he was born in the year that his father died; (2) that he was born after his father's death; (3) that he was five years old, more or less, when his father died; and (4) conflicting reports as to who the mother of the child was. He then records this summary judgment:

> But all this is humbug, for the above mentioned al Hasan left no children, neither male nor female Such is the final folly of the Shi'ites and the key to their grave errors of which this one is the least grave, though (sufficient) to lead to perdition.[2]

The faith of the *Ithnā 'Asharīya* is not dependent on Sunni or non-Muslim capacity to receive. In the person of the Twelfth Imam and the doctrines that have developed around him, we come close to the centre of their teaching, where it is intimately connected with every present-day follower. This belief is supported by traditions, by experience and by generations of teaching. It is in turn, the basis of their most cherished hopes.

According to Shiite traditions which appear as prophecy, the Prophet took occasion to inform the faithful with regard to their Imams. One one occasion, he addressed Ḥusain, saying:

> " . . . Thou art an Imam, the brother of an Imam, nine of thy lineal descendants will be pious Imams; the ninth of them being their Qaim." Of the twelfth, the tradition continues: " He will be followed by his son whose name and patronym (kunyat) will be the same as mine. He will be Hujjatullah (Divine argument) on the earth, and the Baqiatullah (the one spared by God to maintain the cause of faith) among mankind. He will conquer the whole world from east to west. So long will he remain hidden from the eyes of his followers that the belief in his Imamat will remain only in those hearts which have been tested by God for faith.[3]"

[1] Massignon, L., Nusairi, EI.
[2] Ibn Hazm, *op. cit.*, 48/49, 76.
[3] Hasan, Sd. Najmul, *op. cit.*, pp. 31, 34.

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Likewise, Imam 'Ali once explained to a group how the Prophet secretly taught him, and at one point, related to him one by one the names of the twelve Imams. Concerning the last, he related:

> Then he, whose name is my name, and whose colour is my colour,—the upholder of the command of Allah (*al-Qa'im bi-amri'l-lāh*) in the final era, the Righteous Guide, WHO WILL FILL THE EARTH WITH JUSTICE AND EQUITY, JUST AS NOW IT IS FULL OF OPPRESSION AND WRONG.[1]
> Muhammad, son of Imam Hasan 'Askari and Narjis Kkatun also called ' Imam Mahdi ', ' Hujjatu'llah ' (' the Prophet of God '), Bakiyyatu'llah (' the Remnant of God ') and ' Qaim-i-al-i-Muhammad ' (' He who shall arise of Muhammad '). He bore not only the same name but the same Kunya—Abu'l Kasim—as the Prophet, and it is not lawful for any other to bear this name and Kunya together. He was born at Surramau-Raa, A.H. 255 and succeeded his father in the Imamate, A.H. 260.[2]

He was thus about five years of age when his father died. His mother was Narjis Khatūn, a slave girl from the west. Al Hillī speaks of him " as the greatest (*afdal*) of all the Imams."[3] Miracles attended his birth. The words, " Truth is come and falsehood is banished. Verily falsehood is a thing that vanisheth," were on his arm.[4] Two of his father's slave-girls relate that when

> he was born he knelt at once and raised his forefingers in witness towards heaven, sneezed, and said : ' Praise to God the Lord of the Worlds, and salutation to Muhammad and his Family.'[5]

He was able to converse with his father in fluent Arabic when he held him the first time. Shortly before his death, the father commanded the son to be brought to him.

> Then his mother came and took his hand and brought him to his father. When he came before his father the noble child's complexion was luminous, his hair curly, and his teeth showing (as he smiled). When the dying Imam looked upon him he wept and said, ' O Master of your own household, give me a drink, for I go to my Preserver.' The child took the bowl of gum-mastic water, *abi mastaki*, (which had been prepared by the mother), touched it to his lips in prayer, and gave it to his father. When he drank it, he said, ' Make me ready for prayer '. So the Master of the Age took a towel and gave his

[1] Fyzee, *op. cit.*, p. 124.
[2] Badshah Husain, A. F., Shiah Islam, Moslem World, April 1941, XXXI, pp. 185/192.
[3] Fyzee, *op. cit.*, p. 99, n.1.
[4] Sell, Canon, The Faith of Islam, p. 138.
[5] Donaldson, *op. cit.*, pp. 232/233.

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> father the ceremonial ablution, and anointed his head and his feet. The dying Imam then declared, ' O my dear child, you are the Master of the Age, you are the Mahdi, you are the Proof of God on earth, my child, my *wasi* (representative), and, as my offspring, you are *m-h-m-d* (Muhammad), my good son, a child of the Apostle, the last of the Imams, pure and virtuous. The Apostle of God has informed the people about you. He has mentioned your name and your patronymic. This is the covenant of my fathers that has come down to me '—and at that moment the Imam died.[1]

During these early years Ḥasan Al Askarī had kept little *Muḥammad* from being seen by any but special friends through fear that the *khalīfa*, hearing of his miracles, might destroy him. But after the death of the father, the boy, now Imām Muḥammad, disappeared, or entered into his *ghaibat*, concealment. Accounts as to how this happened differ. A popular version reads :

> The King sent soldiers to seize Mhidhie, who was at prayers in an inner room when they arrived. The soldiers demanded and were refused admittance. They then forced an entrance and proceeded to the room in which the Emaum was supposed to be at prayers, they discovered him immersed to the waist in a tank of water ; the soldiers desired him to get out of the water and surrender himself, he continued repeating his prayer, and appeared to take no notice of the men nor their demand. After some deliberations amongst the soldiers, they thought the water was too shallow to endanger their lives, and one entered the tank intending to take the Emaum prisoner, he sank instantly to rise no more, a second followed who shared the same fate ; and the rest, deterred by the example of their brother soldiers, fled from the place, to report the failure of their plans to the king at Bagdad.
>
> This writer reports that Emaum Mhidhie was secretly conveyed away, supposed by the interposition of Divine Providence, and was not seen again, to be recognised, on earth.[2]
>
> Ibn Khaldun states that ' when imprisoned with his mother, he entered a sort of well or pit in the house that his family occupied at Hilla, and there he disappeared, but he is to come forth at the end of the age to fill the earth with justice.'[3]

Another record says that he disappeared from a cellar in Samarra and that Ibn Baṭūṭa tells in the account of his travels that he had seen mounted soldiers standing at the entrance to the cellar.[4] That he thus disappeared from a cellar seems to be

[1] *Ibid.*
[2] Ali, Mrs. Meer Hassan, *op. cit.*, pp. 79/80.
[3] Donaldson, *op. cit.*, p. 234.
[4] Najm al Ghani Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 418.

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the most generally accepted view. One of two shrines at Samarra marks the place from which this concealment was effected. Beneath its dome, is where the young Imām is believed to have disappeared. To visit the pit by a flight of steps is to win great merit.[1]

Through a period of nearly seventy years, A.H. 260–329, which is spoken of as the Lesser Concealment, *Ghaiba Sughra*, the Imām was represented by four vakils or agents.[2] These were 'Uthmān ibn Sa'd, Abū Ja'far Muḥammad, Abū al Qāsim Ḥusain ibn Rūh, and 'Ali ibn Muḥammad Samarri. 'Uthmān ibn Sa'd had served as private secretary and treasurer for two Imams and was in fact responsible for the property. He was nominated by Ḥasan al Askarī as his *vakil*, and to a group of his followers who came to inquire concerning the Imām he showed the little boy, Muḥammad, and said that they would not see him again until he was considerably older. " In the meantime," said he, " you are to accept what 'Uthmān ibn Sa'd says, as he is the representative of your Imām." Each *vakil* named his successor, and each in turn looked after the property interests and conveyed to the leaders of the community of the Twelvers secret messages of their Imām. By the end of the time of the fourth *vakil*, 'Ali ibn Muḥammad, persecution had scattered the community, and none was still living who had seen the Imām. He declined, therefore, to name anyone to succeed him, saying : " The matter is now with God." The period since then has been known as the Greater Concealment, *Ghaiba Kubra*.

Throughout the period of the Lesser Concealment, the Imām occasionally appeared to favoured followers, but communicated to most through his *vakil*. During the time of the Greater Concealment, some have claimed to have been visited by the Imām. His place of abode is not known, but all Imāmīya believe that he is alive. Some believe that he is " hidden in a cave or well."[3] Others say that he is " preserved till our time in a mysterious city of Jabalqa, whence he will come forth in " The Trouble of the Last Time."[4] Others still say that

> he is still on earth, dwelling in the wilds and forests ; and may go so far as to assert, that Mhidhie visits (without being recognised) the Holy House of Mecca annually, on the great

[1] Donaldson, *op. cit.*, p. 246.
[2] Najm al Ghani Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 418 ; Donaldson, *op. cit.*, pp. 251/257.
[3] Ivanow, W., Kalami Pir, p. 17.
[4] Browne, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

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day of sacrifice; but I cannot find any grounds for their opinion.[1]

This reference to an annual visit to Mecca may grow out of a statement on oath made by the second *vakil* that "the Master of the Age was present among the pilgrims of Mecca every year and that he sees them although they fail to see him."[2] That the Imam does keep in touch with his followers, guiding them; and that he has been corresponded with, although invisible, is a fixed belief of the *Ithnā 'Asharīya*. The ways in which this is done vary:

—people have been encouraged to seek the assistance of the Hidden Imam—in the practice of sending him short letters. In the manual in which he sets forth the many duties and privileges of pilgrims, Majlisi has given an accepted form for a short letter in Arabic, which anyone can write or have written and sent to the Master of the Age. It may be placed on the tombs of any of the Imams, or it may be fastened and sealed, and covered with clean earth, and cast into the sea or into a deep well. In any case it will reach the Hidden Imam and he will give it his personal attention.[3]

Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali tells of another method which she has known practised by some men of good understanding,,

who having a particular object in view, which they cannot attain by any human stratagem or contrivance, write petitions to the Emaum Mhidhie on Fridays, and by their own hands commit them to the river with as much reverence as if they thought him present in the water to receive it. The petition is always written in the same respectful terms, as inferiors here well know how to address their superiors, and every succeeding Friday the petition is repeated until the object is accomplished, or the petitioner has no further inducement to offer one.

I have made particular inquiries whether such sensible people (as I have seen thus engaged) placed any dependence on this mode of petitioning. The only answer I have received, is 'Those who think proper thus to petition, certainly believe that it will be effectual, if they persevere in it.'[4]

But there is testimony for more definite answers, as witness the claim of the father of Ibn Bābawayhi al Qummi, who is also called Shaikh Ṣadūq, that his famous son was born to him in

[1] Ali, Mrs. Meer Hassan, *op. cit.*, p. 76.
[2] Donaldson, *op. cit.*, p. 252.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 235/236.
[4] Ali, Mrs. Meer Hassan, *op. cit.*, ——, 155/156.

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answer to the intercession of the Hidden Imam.[1] With deeper insight, but not with more of spiritual yearning, Syed Ameer Ali says, " The Shiah believes that the Imam, though *ghaib* (absent), is always present at the devotions of his fold."[2]

Besides guidance and help of this kind, the *Ithnā 'Asharīya* also believe that

> The expounders of the law and the ministers of religion are his representatives on earth ; and even the secular chiefs represent him in the temporal affairs of the world.[3]

The outstanding example of a Shiite government is that of Persia, and it is also the best example of the Imam's relation to temporal affairs. In the Supplementary Fundamental Laws promulgated by Shah Muhammad 'Ali in 1907, Art 2. ran as follows :

> At no time must any legal enactment of the Sacred National Consultative Assembly established by the favour and assistance of His Holiness the Imam of the Age (may God hasten his glad advent), the favour of His Majesty the Shahanshah of Islam (may God make his name abide forever,) the care of the Proofs of Islam (i.e. the mujtahids) (May God multiply the like of them), and the whole People of the Persian nation, be at variance with the sacred principles of Islam.—In accordance with this theory the Shah of Persia is regarded as being only the guardian of public order and makes no claim to be Caliph.—legal authority rests with the mujtahids.[4]

During the reign of Riḍa Shāh Pahlavi, the power of the mujtahids was somewhat curbed, by transferring strong men from one place to another, but the theory of a Shiite state was not altered. Since the abdication of Riḍa Shah, the power of the mujtahids is returning.

For the Twelvers, the concealment of the Imam has its advantages. It does not deprive them of his guidance and blessing any more than man is deprived of the warmth and light of the sun when it is behind a cloud. The advantages are thus stated :

> First,—the expectation that the Imam will appear—in itself makes for abstinence from numerous sins.
>
> Second,—the reason he is concealed is on account of his enemies among men.
>
> Third,—it is perfectly possible that God knows that there are friends of the Imam during his concealment who would deny

[1] Strothmann, R., Shi'a EI.
[2] Ameer Ali, *op. cit.*, p. 124.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] Arnold, T. W., The Caliphate, pp. 186/187.

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him if he appeared, so that his appearance would thus become a reason for their loss of faith.

Fourth,—it is not at all necessary that all should profit equally. It might be that a select number would see him and be thus advantaged.[1]

As a preliminary to receiving the full advantage of the Imam, it is necessary that certain commands from God, already revealed through the Imams, must first be obeyed.

Not only is Imām Mahdī alive, but his followers ardently look for his return, *raj'a*. Was he not called the Righteous Guide who will fill the earth with justice and equity, as it is now full of oppression and wrong? That day has not come; it must come. That Messianic hope still burns brightly in the heart of every Twelver. The Imām Mahdī who

will fill the earth with justice even if it be covered with tyranny, will come at last. Jesus will then appear and follow him. The light of God will illuminate the earth and the empire of the Imam will extend from east to west.[2]

He it is through whom Allah will make His faith manifest in order to supersede all religion, though the polytheists may dislike (it)! He it is whom Allah will make victorious over the whole world until from every place the call to prayer will be heard, and all religion will belong entirely to Allah, Exalted is He above all. He it is, who is the Rightly Guided (*mahdi*), about whom the Prophet gave information that when he appears, Jesus, son of Mary, will descend upon the earth and pray behind him, and he who prays behind him is like one who prays behind the Prophet of Allah, because he is his vice-gerent (khalifa).

And we believe that there can be no Qa'im other than him; he may live in the state of occultation (as long as he likes); and were he to live in the state of occultation for the space of the existence of this world, there would nevertheless be no Qa'im other than him.[3]

Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali gives the thought of many Shiite homes when she expresses their hope in this way:

When Mecca is filled with Christian people, Emaum Mhidhie will appear, to draw men to the true faith; and then also, Jesus Christ will descend from heaven to Mecca, there will be great slaughter amongst men; after which there will be but one faith—and then shall there be perfect peace and happiness over all the world.[4]

[1] Donaldson, *op. cit.*, pp. 310/312.
[2] Sell, *op. cit.*, p. 139.
[3] Fyzee, *op. cit.*, pp. 98/99.
[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 80.

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THE IMAMS OF THE ITHNA 'ASHARIYA—II

In the pamphlet setting forth the official attitude of the *Ithnā 'Asharīya community* in India to *Jihād*, we read :

> It is distinctly laid down in our Mohamedan law that at the time when the above mentioned Imam shall appear, Jesus Christ (may safety attend him!) shall descend from the fourth heaven and friendship, not enmity, shall exist between these two Great Ones.[1]

Three clear ideas of the Mahdī are included in the conception of the Twelver Shias : the certainty that he will be the Twelfth Imam returning from concealment ; that all people, including the Sunnis, will have to pray behind him ; and, in the words of Hunter, that

> The Shiah—millenium—is to be reached in association with the Christians, who will all become Shiahs, and probably through the blood of the Sunni heretics, who at first will refuse to accept the final apostle.[2]

The return of the Mahdī is expected to take place at the " Mosque of the last Imam " at Hilla, not far from Samarra.[3] In the expectation that he might come at any time, in the royal stables at Ispahan two horses were always kept bridled and saddled that they might be ready for this day. One was intended for the use of the Mahdī ; the other for Jesus Christ.[4]

Whatever the difficulties that this Shiite conception of the Mahdī may hold for Sunnis or non-Muslims, to a devout Shia the idea is a cause of sacred joy. Mrs. Ali says the topic was the subject of frequent conversation, and in her " last serious conversation with her father-in-law he said :

> My time, dear baittie (daughter) is drawing to a quick conclusion. You may live to see the events foretold, I shall be in my grave ; but remember, I tell you now, though I am dead, yet when Jesus Christ returns to earth, at his coming, I shall rise again from my grave ; and I shall be with Him and with Emaum Mhidhie also.
>
> This was the substance of his last serious conversation with me, and within one short week he was removed from those who loved to hear his voice ; but he still lives in the memory of many, and those who knew his worth are reconciled by reflecting on the ' joy that awaits the righteous '.
>
> ' Other sheep I have, which are not of this fold ; them also I must bring, and they shall hear My voice ; and there shall

[1] Hunter, W. W., The Indian Musulmans, pp. 115/119.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] Donaldson, *op. cit.*, p. 245.
[4] Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

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be one fold, and one Shepherd.' These were particularly pleasing passages to him, and often referred to in our scriptural conversations.[1]

Nor should incredulity with regard to many aspects of the disappearance and return of the Imām Mahdī obscure in any reader the recognition of the deep sincerity and pathos with which his followers accept them. One senses such sincerity in a passage like this by Syed Ameer Ali, himself a Shia, when after reference to the disappearance of the Child Imām he wrote :

> The pathos of this calamity culminates in the hope, the expectation, which fills the hearts of all Shiahs, that the child may return to relieve a sorrowing and sinful world of its burden of sin and oppression. So late as the fourteenth century of the Christian era, when Ibn Khaldun was writing his great work, the Shiahs were wont to assemble at eventime at the entrance of the cavern and supplicate the missing child to return to them. After a long and wistful waiting, they dispersed to their homes, disappointed and sorrowful. This, says Ibn Khaldun, was a daily occurrence. ' When they were told that it was hardly possible the child could be alive,' they answered that, ' as the Prophet Khizr was alive why should not their Imam be alive also ? '[2]

The titles *al Muntaẓar*, the expected, and *al Qa'īm*, the continuing, witness to this same hope in all Shias of this group.

Based on a tradition that goes back to Ja'far al Ṣādiq, loyal Shias enter into a covenant agreement with their Imams concerning which it is said that whoever repeats it

> for forty mornings will be among the established companions of the Imams, and if he should die before the appearance of the Twelfth Imam, God will cause him to rise from the grave and to minister to the Imam at the time of his coming. For every word that he repeats of this creed, God will give him one thousand degrees of merit and will forgive one thousand of his sins.[3]

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 81.
[2] Ameer Ali, *op. cit.*
[3] Majlisi, Tr. by Donaldson, *op. cit.*, p. 354.

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CHAPTER VII

The Ithna 'Ashariya Come to India—I

The Bahmani and Successor Kingdoms

The forces that have produced any given situation, whether they be the natural processes that have given us our mountain ranges or our finest soils ; whether social and political forces that have prepared the seed beds for great developments in history, have usually been long concealed, and sometimes can be traced with the greatest of difficulty, if at all. If they are traced, the most different and conspicuous forces are the most quickly distinguished and recognized. The first references to Shias in India usually speak of the *malahida*, a collective term denoting sectarians, probably Shī'a but more particularly extremists like the Qarmatians. We should not, of course, accept this as meaning that the more moderate Twelvers had not come at all, but rather that their presence did not call for mention but was taken for granted. At the same time, it is possible, even probable, that some of these extremist sectarians came in numbers at an earlier date than Twelvers both because of intense local persecutions, and also because some such groups were active in efforts to establish their own government ; and in both cases they would earlier attract attention. It may also be true that the moderate Imamis resorted to *taqīya* more successfully than the extremists.

The coming of the Twelvers into India was by steady infiltration, not with the deliberate planning with which the word has been used in modern war, but with results none the less considerable. They just came. Individually and in groups, they found their way to India ; by land and by sea they came ; with mixed motives they came. Among the earliest were refugees seeking asylum from the multiplied persecutions of the Alids under the Umaiyads and the Abbasids. As in other countries, these searchers for religious freedom became a part of the country which received them. Peaceful penetration was for them better than forceful. Their doctrine of *taqīya* protected them by concealing them. They came as Muslims and for the great majority, history knows them only as such. The few that came to the top serve

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only to remind us that their numbers in the total must have been very great. So also were their contributions to the life of the country. Well does Arnold say :

> As administrators, generals, men of letters, teachers and saints, the Sayyids of India have played an important part in the history of the Muhammadan civilization. . . . Saints, religious teachers, poets and men of letters, as well as soldiers, have brought to India the refinement and subtlety of Persian genius.[1]

A surprisingly large number of those who sought favour and protection at the court of Delhi or other States in India, have been Shias of the Imāmī, or Twelver group. Through these, as also through their Sunni confreres, the Persian language came to be recognized through northern India both as "the language of diplomacy and of polite intercourse."

As early as the middle of the thirteenth century we read of fugitive immigrants in numbers. The Tartar invasion and the tottering of the Baghdad government, led many men of eminence away from their homes and country. The Government of Ghiyath al dīn Balban of the slave dynasty, 1266–1286, prided itself on affording hospitality to fifteen princes, while the number of literary fugitives would be still more considerable. Amīr Khusrow was one of the best-known of these. He was born in India, but his father, a Turk, had emigrated from Hazara near Balkh. The king's son was himself possessed of literary accomplishments, and his palace was the resort of all.[2]

Rather than to attempt any list of Shiite arrivals with an account of leading examples in each class, we shall observe the coming of the *Ithnā 'Asharīya*, and the methods by which they established themselves, in brief vignettes of history, sketching picture-flashes depicting Shiism penetrating in four different situations : (1) The Bahmani Kingdom, and its immediate successors in the Deccan ; (2) The Mughal Period ; (3) Kashmir, an isolated unit, and (4) Oudh, where in Lucknow, Indian Shiism has its present capital, supplementing such a composite picture with important items, as needed, to complete it.

I. The Bahmani Kingdom, 748/1347—933/1526

The founder of the Bahmani Kingdom was one Ḥasan Gangu.

[1] Arnold, T. W., India, EI.
[2] Elphinstone, M., The History of India, p. 380.

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THE ITHNA 'ASHARIYA COME TO INDIA—I

Legends describe variously the choice of the name Bahmani. In Ferishta he is represented as the servant of a Brahman astrologer, who when out ploughing the field of his master found a box full of gold, which he at once took to the Brahman. For his honesty, the master recommended him for service to Muḥammad ibn Tughlak and made him promise that he would take the name of his former master when he attained the greatness that was prophesied.[1]

Another form of the story depicts him as a relative of a highly-placed Persian family who had been made poor through adverse fate. One day he was sleeping in the shade of a tree when Gango Pandit, a Brahmin, observed that a cobra warded off flies from him with a blade of grass held in his mouth. The Brahmin halted until Ḥasan awaked and then told him what he had seen and promised that he would serve him if Ḥasan would use his name with his, to which Ḥasan consented.[2]

A third story says that Ḥasan had won the commendation of a saint on whom he attended at prayers and over whom he once held a cover to keep the sun off while he slept.[3]

Discarding such accounts as unhistorical, Sir Wolseley Haig reports that Ḥasan "traced his pedigree to King Bahman bin Isfandiyar of Iran," and that this is verified in *Haft Iqlim* of Amīn Aḥmad Rāzi who wrote in A.H. 1002, before Ferishta.[4] The same writer who has narrated the cobra story above, also relates Ḥasan to "Isfandiyar bin Gastabasta, Emperor of Persia."[5]

Smith, following Ferishta, says that Ḥasan was an Afghan or Turkish officer of the Delhi Sultan called Ḥasan Zafar Khān, who

> claimed descent from an early Persian king, known as Artaxerxes Longimanus, the long armed, (Ardeshir Darazdast) who has been identified with Ahasuerus of the book of Esther.[6]

If we can accept the pattern provided in other cases we will probably not be far wrong to consider Ḥasan to have been one from a reputable Persian family who came to India as an adventurer and made his place in the rapidly expanding Tughlak kingdom of Delhi. Ḥasan Gangu, with his faction, seized an opportunity in a period of weakness at Delhi, and established his independence in the Deccan, taking for himself the name of

[1] EI, Bahmani Dynasty.
[2] Natu, V. R., A History of Bijapur, JBBRAS, XXII, 1908, p. 22.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 23.
[4] Abd al Wali, The Bahmani Dynasty, JASB V, p. 463.
[5] Natu, V. R., *op. cit.*, p. 22.
[6] Smith, V. A., The Oxford History of India, p. 275.

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'Ala al din Ḥasan Bahman in 748/1347.[1] *To maintain this independence, he needed an army loyal to him, and free from subservience to Delhi. This he recruited largely from Persia and Central Asia. At his coronation the black colour of the Sunni Abbasids was used.*[2]

As background in which to set events referred to, we include the names of the kings of the dynasty.

'Alā al dīn Ḥasan	1347	Aḥmad II	1434
Muḥammad I	1358	Humāyūn	1457
Mujāhid	1375	Aḥmad III	1461
Dā'ūd I (Uncle to no. 3) ..	1378	Muḥammad III ..	1463
Muḥammad II	1378	Maḥmud	1482
Ghiyath al dīn	1397	Aḥmad IV	1518
Dā'ūd II	1397	'Alā al dīn II ..	1520
Firoz	1397	Walī Allāh Shāh ..	1522
Aḥmad I	1421	Kalīm Allāh ..	1526

We do not wish to force conclusions or dogmatically to claim Shiite influence or personalities to prove a chosen thesis. But in situations that show sudden outcrops of undisputed Shiism, we are candidly seeking for some of the predisposing influences, or clues thereto, that will account for those outcrops. In Ḥasan Gangu's case there is his name Ḥasan ; there is probably a Persian background. Also, beyond dispute, is the fact that early in the dynasty the army of the Bahmani kingdom is composed of rival factions ; one predominantly Shiite collected from Persians and Turks and Tartars of Central Asia ; and the other a Sunni group. including besides the Muslims of South India, Abyssinian mercenaries. Speight says, " Though all the foreigners were not Shi'ahs a sufficient number of them belonged to that sect to brand the party with heterodoxy."[3]

These factions were repeatedly in conflict with each other, not so much from racial differences as from the religious.[4] During the reign of Aḥmad II the foreigners had so well conducted themselves in important campaigns that the king gave orders that thereafter the foreigners should take precedence of the Deccanese. This led to increased rivalries, and plots by the Deccanese against the foreigners. In the Konkan campaign as many as five hundred " noble Syuds of Medina, Kurbela, and Nujuf " fell.

[1] Aiyangar, S. K., S. India and the Muhammadan Invaders, p. 149.
[2] Ferishta, Tr. Briggs, John, History of the Rise of the Mughal Power in India, III, p. 291.
[3] The Coins of the Bahmani Kings, Is. Cul., IX, 1935, p. 291.
[4] Elphinstone, *op. cit.*, pp. 476/477.

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Caught in a plot of the Deccanese, the drunken king ordered all the foreign troops to be killed by the sword. Hearing of this, the Sayyids fortified themselves in the fort of Chakan, until after two months of siege, when their opponents promised on oath " by the Almighty, by the Koran and by the Prophet of God that they would not injure them in person or property," the Sayyids came out. On the fourth day they were all massacred. " There were 2500 of whom 1200 were Syeds of pure descent."[1] Ferishta, himself a Shia, records this event with very bitter feeling. Again in the next reign of Humāyūn there was another massacre when thousands were killed. Such numbers, besides those killed in military campaigns, even allowing for exaggeration, suggest that Shias had entered India in very large numbers as adventurers and soldiers in the Bahmani armies.

The facts as far as we can judge do not confirm a " Shiah Revolt " against Delhi, as Talboys Wheeler summarized the history of this period in the Deccan ;[2] nor does it appear that the rivalry was motivated with a desire to further sectarian ends so much as to secure political advantage. But the accounts do show Shias in large numbers and illustrate keen and early Shia-Sunni rivalry.

While this sectarian rivalry in the army is noted by several historians, I have found only one, Sir Wolseley Haig, who describes any of the kings of the dynasty as a Shia.[3] He attributes the conversion of Shihāb al dīn Aḥmad I to the Influence of the saint, Mīr Sayyid Gesū Darāz who had been born in Delhi in 1320, went to the Deccan in 1413, and died there in 1422.[4]

> The saint's family were Shiahs, and it is clear from the inscriptions in Ahmad's tomb, that they converted him to that faith, but his religion was a personal matter, and he wisely refrained from interfering with that of his subjects.[5]

Other references, however, indicate that some others of the dynasty had inclinations toward Shiite practices and beliefs. After his coronation, 'Alā al dīn Ḥasan " distributed four hundred pounds weight of gold and a thousand pounds of silver in charity "[6] in the name of Niẓām-al-dīn Awlīya, who had predicted his good fortune. Niẓām-al-dīn had been born in Budaon in 1236–1237

[1] Ferishta, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 428 ff.
[2] Havell, E. B., Aryan Rule, pp. 333/334 ; 403.
[3] Haig, Sir W., The Religion of Ahmad Shah Bahmani, JRAS, 1924, p. 74.
[4] Subhan, J. A., Sufism, Its Saints and Shrines, pp. 219/224.
[5] Cambridge History of India, III, p. 403.
[6] Ferishta, *op. cit.*, III, p. 291.

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and became one of the renowned saints of Islam, known as Sulṭān al Awlīya, king of the saints. He died in 1325.[1] *This attitude toward saints is characteristic through most of this dynasty.*

The second king, Muḥammad Shah I, found his treasury low "owing to the large sums required by his mother, Mullika Jahan, to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca, Medina, and Karbulla."[2] *It was during this reign that the great mosque in Gulbarga was built, about 1367. It* was constructed under an architect from Qazwīn in north-west Persia. The dimensions are 211 feet east to west and 176 feet north to south.

> The ceiling of the cloister is gabled except at the four corners where beautiful domes have been built. The prayer hall has been covered over with a majestic dome, while the ceiling of the avenues is divided into seventy-five compartments each surmounted with a small dome.—The building has no ornaments but the superior grace of its architectural forms ; and the great calm and solemnity which pervade it and so perfectly express the object of its construction, place it amongst the greatest mosques of the world.[3]

More significant than its construction, however, is the inscription cut above the border of the prayer hall below the large dome. The centre inscription reads, "Allah, Muḥammad, 'Ali, Fāṭima, Ḥasan and Ḥusain." On the right, and slightly lower, are the names of Abū Bakr—'Umar, and on the left, in similar position 'Uthman—'Ali. Above columns that support the three sides of this front hall, we again find the names of the Prophet's family, 'Ali, Fāṭima, Ḥasan and Ḥusain, the four khalifas, and Allah. There are two pulpits, one at the front and one towards the rear. It would appear that worship is not regularly held here, but the keeper informed me that when it is held, the back portion, rather than the front, is used.

Later in his reign Muḥammad Shāh sent his son, Prince Mujāhid, to Shaikh Muḥammad Sirāj al dīn with a fifth part of the plunder of an important campaign to be distributed among Sayyids and Holy men.[4] The favourite companions of this prince were Turks or Persians with whom he conversed in Turki. After his succession to the throne, he paid homage to the tomb of Shaikh Burhān al dīn at Burhanpur, and then chose Shaikh Zain al dīn as his spiritual guide.

[1] Subhan, *op. cit.*,
[2] Ferishta, *op. cit.*, p. 301. (Italics mine.)
[3] Yazdani, G., The Great Mosque of Gulbarga, Is. Cul., II, p. 19.
[4] Ferishta, *op. cit.*, p. 310.

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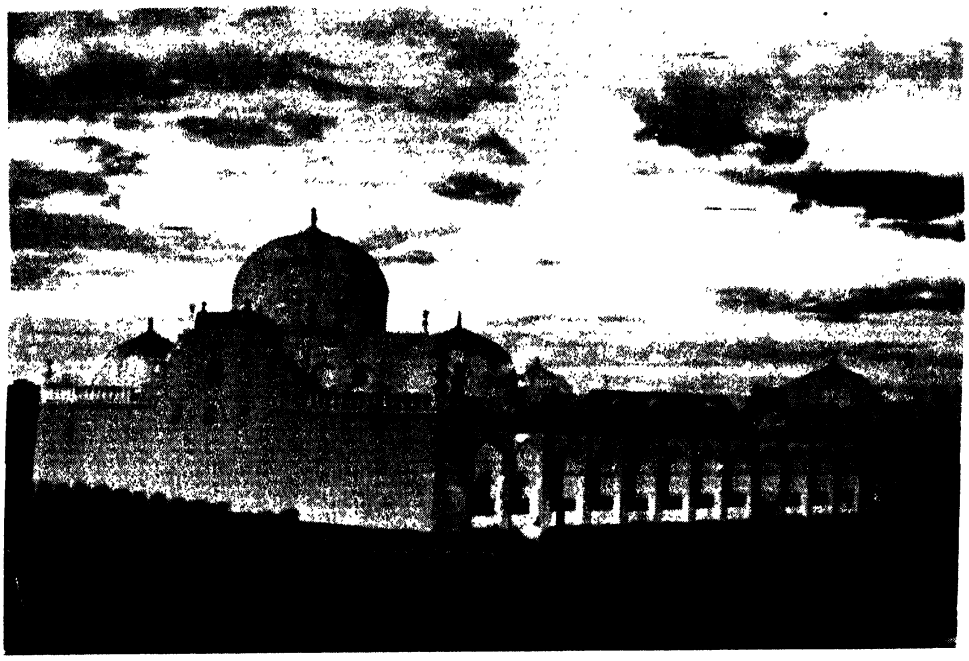
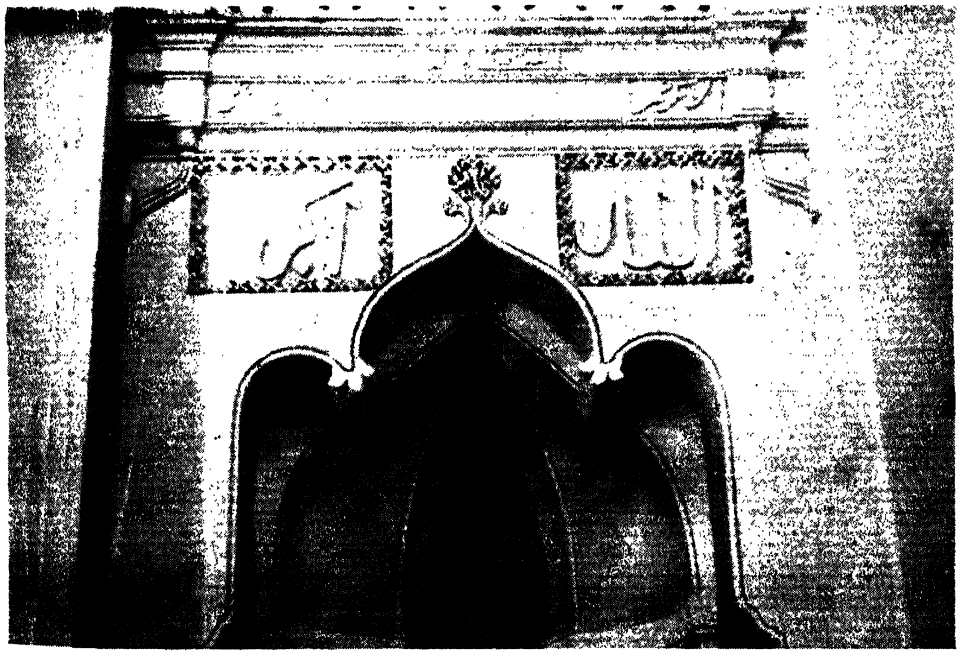


THE GREAT MOSQUE, GULBARGA



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SHIITE INSCRIPTION BELOW THE DOME
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This king also invited Khwāja Hāfiẓ of Shīrāz to come to the Deccan. He wished to do so but was prevented. Subhan says that many in India learn Persian "for no other reason than to be able to read the *Diwān i Hāfīz*."[1] During this reign, many "poets of Arabia and Persia resorted to the Deccan and partook of this liberality."[2]

The next important reign is that of Firoz, 1397. During this time there was a large influx of 'foreigners'. Firoz's kingdom included ports on the western coast and his fleet sailed far and wide to bring commodities for the Deccan. It brought also, some outstanding personalities; among them Khalaf Ḥasan, a merchant from Basra who traded in horses.[3] He became a favourite of the king's brother, Aḥmad, who held the title of Khān i Khānan. Also during this reign Gesū Darāz moved to Gulbarga. Firoz was anxious that his son, Ḥasan, "a weak and dissipated prince" should succeed him, but the saint had selected the brother of the king, Aḥmad, and refused his blessing to the son. The brother became Shihāb al dīn Aḥmad I, Walī, the only Indian king to have the title of saint. His strong supporter in the contest for the throne was Khalaf Ḥasan, a Shia,[4] who received the title of Mālik al Tajjār, the Leader of the Merchants. Aḥmad Shāh had promised to assign certain revenues "to the use of Sayyids in Mecca, Medina, *Najaf and Kerbala*,"[5] in case he became king. Like his brother, he paid great deference to holy men. For Gesū Darāz, he built a "hospice" and in an effort to do all he could for him to whose patronage and blessing he owed his success, he also left endowments. Sherwani tells us that both Firoz and his brother had been

> much inclined towards the Syeds of the neighbourhood of Basrah, especially of the holy cities of Najaf and Karbala, and Prince Ahmad actually endowed Khanapur and its neighbourhood for their maintenance.[6]

Haig says that up to 1429 Aḥmad had not become a Shia. It was later that he sent to Shāh Ni'matullā in Kirmān inviting him to come to the Deccan. This he did not do, but he did send a disciple, Mullā Qutb al dīn, with the messenger and entrusted to him a box containing a green crown with twelve points representing

[1] Subhan, *op. cit.*, p. 43.
[2] Ferishta, *op. cit.*, p. 343.
[3] Sherwani, H. K., Mahmud Gawan, The Great Bahmani Wazir, p. 64.
[4] Haig, W., *op. cit.*, p. 74.
[5] Sherwani, *op. cit.*, p. 64. (Italics mine.)
[6] *Ibid.*

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the twelve Imams, for Aḥmad Shāh. In the meantime, the king had had a dream in which he saw a person coming to him with a crown. Mullā Qutb al dīn assured him he was the person he had seen. The saint also sent a letter to him addressing him as " the greatest of kings, Shihāb al Dīn Aḥmad Shāh, Walī." This so pleased the king that he used the title henceforth in documents and in the *khuṭba*. Aḥmad had come to be called *walī*, because his prayer for rain after a year of famine brought a prompt answer.[1]

A second time Aḥmad sent to Ni'matullā, this time to ask him to send a son to India. But as he had only one, he sent a grandson, Mīr Nūr Allāh, who settled in the Deccan. Aḥmad Shāh himself went some distance to meet him and at the place of meeting erected a mosque and built a village which he called Ni'matabad. Nūr Allāh was himself given the title of Mālik al Masha'ikh and given place in the *darbar* above all others. He later received the king's daughter in marriage. In 1431, on the death of the Saint, the son, Shāh Khalīl Allāh, with his family, came to India. One of his sons rose to military distinction, becoming known as Ghazi, and received a district as a *jagīr* and married the daughter of the crown prince. Ferishta says,

> the district has ever since continued in the family of these distinguished holy personages, and the mausoleum built on the outside of the town of Beer, which is now standing, was intended to receive the ashes of these venerable saints.[2]

A second great influx of foreigners followed the coming of this saint, and the ascendancy of his family over that of Gesū Darāz.[3]

Haig relates a story from *Burhān i Ma'āsir* to the effect that Sayyid Naṣīr al dīn of Kerbala visited Aḥmad and received a large sum of money to construct an aqueduct at Kerbala. It was during the visit of this personage that a leading noble of the kingdom felt that he had not been properly saluted and pulled the Sayyid from his horse. The Sayyid complained to the king, who had the noble called and trampled to death by an elephant, saying, " Thus only can insult to the descendant of the prophet be suitably requited, and the protection of Islam is incumbent on all."[4]

Sykes says regarding Ni'matullā's prestige, among whose disciples Aḥmad called himself " the meanest," that

[1] Haig, *op. cit.*, JRAS 1924, p. 74.
[2] Ferishta, *op. cit.*, III, p. 418/420.
[3] Sherwani, *op. cit.*, p. 166.
[4] Haig, *op. cit.*, JRAS 1924, p. 78.

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> from the Seven Climates came envoys bearing presents of mighty sovereigns who thirsted for his prayers and wise advice. Indeed, from India alone, the value of the gifts received by the saint was so great, and the circle of his disciples had become so extensive, that the jealousy of Shah Rukh, son of Amir Timur, was excited, and but for the prayers of the pious lady, Gauhar Shah Aga, sacrilegious hands would have taxed the property of His Holiness.[1]

Concerning the tomb of the saint, he says that Muḥammad Shāh of Persia built the court, Shāh 'Abbās the western gallery,

> but the saint is buried beneath the dome, and Shah Ahmad Bahmani honoured himself by constructing this building. The doors are of exquisitely carved sandal wood, and open on to a lovely court, with cypresses and flowers planted round a vast double tank of limpid water.[2]

Aḥmad I had had his tomb built at Bidar during his lifetime. It was either designed or decorated by Shukrullā of Qazwīn. Inscriptions in his tomb include the names of all twelve Imams, while the names of the first three *khulafā* are not mentioned.[3]

Aḥmad II apparently followed in the faith of his father. At his coronation, Shāh Khalīl allāh was on his right and Syed Hanīf on his left, and both were made to sit down by the king. He went even farther than his father had in superseding old officials. It was during his reign that the slaughter of the Sayyids at Chakan took place in 1447. So incensed was the king at this outrage that he put to death many Deccanese who had been imprisoned.[4]

With the death of Aḥmad II there followed a struggle between two parties for the throne—actually, a contest between these same factions. Aḥmad had named his son, Humāyūn, as his successor. A strong faction sided with his brother, Ḥasan Khān. With the support of Muḥiballah, spiritual successor of Shāh Khalīl allāh, Humāyūn won; but his victory was again contested during the reign. In Sherwani's opinion, the party that had gained the upper hand at Chakan "was so puffed up" that they preferred a puppet in Ḥasan Khān to a strong man like Humāyūn.

It was during the reign of Aḥmad II, in 1453, that there came to the Deccan a merchant, 'Imād al dīn Maḥmūd, known in history as Maḥmūd Gāwān, the latter name denoting probably the place Qawan, on the shores of the Caspian sea where he was born. He came of a highly respectable family. One of his ancestors

[1] Sykes, P., The Glory of the Shia World, pp. 11/12.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 15.
[3] Haig, *op. cit.*, JRAS 1924, p. 78.
[4] Sherwani, *op. cit.*, pp. 67 ff; 80, 93.

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had been the king of Resht, a city in that same vicinity. He left his homeland where Shiism was strong, and came to the Deccan to "sit at the Feet" of Shāh Muḥib allāh, grandson of the saint, Shāh Ni'mat allah Kirmānī. He was made a minister by Humāyūn, and thereafter until his death, when a drunken king ordered him beheaded on a false charge of treason, he played a leading role in the direction of the affairs of the Bahmani kingdom. His ability was conspicuous; his loyalty to his sovereign steadfast. Both as general and as statesman he rendered an outstanding service. He was himself an accomplished scholar as well as a patron of learning, even including in his liberality "the Ulema of Turkey and Iran." The college at Bidar, an immense building, is a monument to his interest in a programme to lift the intellectual and cultural level of the people. For this, the best teachers were not too good, and they were brought from everywhere.

Sherwani says that Maḥmūd Gāwān was "in all probability of Shi'a persuasion";[1] while Sayyid Wajahat Ḥusain calls him "a rigid Sunni."[2] "I.H.Q." says the evidence against his being a Shia "is almost overwhelming."[3] His is a good example of the difficulty one often has in recognizing the sectarian affiliation of leaders in this dynasty. *Taqīya* may account for it in part, and it may be as Haig has suggested for Aḥmad I, that Shiism was for him only a personal matter. We agree with Sherwani, that the probability is that Maḥmūd Gāwān was a Shia. He mentions these reasons: Maḥmūd Gāwān's way of ending some letters with the Shiite prayers, "bi Muhammad wa Haidar"; his connections with Shāh Ni'matallah, who was a Shia; and that the Khwāja's descendants, still living at Bidar, are Shias. Other things also suggest the same conclusion: the circumstances of His coming to India; Sulṭān Ḥusain of Herat who sent Sayyid Kāẓimi to the Deccan to persuade Maḥmūd Gāwān to accept service in his kingdom,[4] had sought to replace the Sunni faith with Shiite in his kingdom as had been done in Persia; and the fact that Yūsuf 'Adil Khān whom he adopted as his son was a Shia. This we conclude from the fact that Yūsuf was in the Sufic fraternity whose members were called "Brethren of the Bath,"[5] and that he established Shiism in the 'Adil Shāhi kingdom as soon as he could after he had made himself independent of Bidar.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 195.
[2] Mahmud Gawan, JASB I 1935, p. 102.
[3] Is. Cul., XVI, p. 250.
[4] Sherwani, *op. cit.*, p. 34, n. 35.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 123, n. 17.

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THE ITHNA 'ASHARIYA COME TO INDIA—I

Not until the reign of Humāyūn, more than one hundred years after Gangu Ḥasan established the dynasty, do we find any reference to conversions. Then we read that the king promoted " a number of *dakhani* converts, one of whom was Mālik Ḥasan Bahri, the ancestor of the Niẓāmshāhi kings of Ahmadnagar."[1]

These incidents in the course of the Bahmani dynasty, interesting but seemingly trivial, and sometimes uncertain of interpretation, become more significant when they are seen not as set in a solitary situation, but connected with a widespread movement in Shiism. In 1502 the Safavian dynasty was established in Persia under Shāh Ismā'īl I, and by him the doctrines of the *Ithnā 'Asharīya*, Twelver Shiism, were established as the religion of the State. We shall see that these common religious bonds bind Persia and the Deccan together, affecting also the situation elsewhere in India. But we cannot here trace an answer to the question that arises : Was there in any way a common propaganda ?

The Bahmani kingdom is usually said to have continued until 1527, but it passed its zenith in glory and influence much earlier. The execution of Maḥmūd Gāwān in the reign of Muḥammad III released fissiparous tendencies which neither that ruler nor his successor could control. In 1489 Yūsuf 'Adil Shāh set up an independent kingdom with his capital at Bijapur. Within a year Aḥmad Niẓām Shāh did likewise with his capital at Ahmednagar; and the 'Imād Shahis took Berar. In 1512 yet another kingdom, the Quṭb Shāhī, became independent with its capital at Golconda. The weakened Bahmani government continued at Bidar, Bahmani capital from the time of Aḥmad I, until 1527, and was succeeded there by the Barid Shahis until 1619. Thus five independent kingdoms came into being in more or less the territory that had once been under the Bahmani kings. The least important of these was the Imād Shāhī kingdom and it was mostly absorbed in the Niẓām Shāhī about 1574. Likewise, the Barid Shāhī kingdom was absorbed in 1619 by the 'Adil Shāhī. Three kingdoms then remained, the 'Adil Shāhī, the Niẓām Shāhī, and the Quṭb Shāhī, and these continued their independent existences until the Mughals had firmly established themselves in the North and were able to turn their attention to the Deccan, and bring it within their empire. It happens that these three independent kingdoms played an important part in Indian Shiite history and they now receive our attention. In a very accurate way, they illustrate the manner in which Shiism came to India and spread here.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 89 ; cf. 63, n. 50.

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THE SHI'A OF INDIA

A. The 'Adil Shahs of Bijapur

Yūsuf 'Adil Shāh ..	895/1489	Ibrāhīm Shāh II	987/1579
Ismā'īl Shāh ..	915/1510	Muhammad Shah	1035/1626
Mallū Shah	941/1534	'Ali Shāh II ..	1070/1660
Ibrāhīm Shah I ..	941/1535	Sikander Shāh ..	1083/1672 –1686
'Ali Shāh I	965/1557		

Yūsuf 'Adil Shāh was sold to Maḥmūd Gāwān as a Georgia slave. He was later adopted as his own son.[1] Through this good fortune, as by his own ability, he became the Governor of Bijapur district in the Bahmani kingdom, and in that position seized the opportunity to make himself independent, in 1489. In keeping with the times, there must be a story that will heighten the achievement, and Ferishta, our best authority of the period, tells it : Yūsuf was the son of Sulṭān Murad II of Turkey who died in 1451. As often happened when the eldest son ascended the throne, all brothers were put to death. Such was the order on this occasion too. But Yūsuf's mother asked the executioner to delay a day, which he did. The mother then bought a young Circassian slave and sent Yūsuf out of the country with a merchant, Khwāja 'Imād al dīn, who took the boy to Ardabil, where he was enrolled among the followers of Shaikh Ṣafi, the founder of the Sufi sect which later led to the Safavid dynasty. From Ardabil, he was taken to Sava. The boy had been told of his high birth and had had communication with his mother. He stayed at Sava until sixteen years of age, receiving an education there. For this reason he is sometimes called Yūsuf 'Ali Khān Savai. From there he went to Qum, Kasḥān, Iṣfahān and Shīrāz. In Persia he had learned of the Shiite religion from followers of Shaikh Ṣafi. Here he had a dream in which the prophet Khiḍr bade him leave Persia and go to India where he would rise to sovereign power. This he did, reaching Dabul. There he made the acquaintance of another merchant, who advised that he go to Ahmedabad Bidar, where his career started.[2]

The establishing of his kingdom was not without difficulties. There were wars, but Yūsuf 'Adil Shāh added to his reputation and to his territory. In one of his campaigns he was taken ill and on his recovery he " distributed sixty thousand rupees among holy men and Syeds of Medina, Kerbala and Najaf."[3] He also

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 143.
[2] Ferishta, *op. cit.*, III, p. 3 ff. ; Elphinstone, *op. cit.*, pp. 756/757.
[3] Ferishta, *op. cit.*, III, p. 22.

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sent money to build a mosque at Sava. By 1502 he felt that he was in a position to perform a long-time wish. Ferishta thus gives the account :

> For this purpose—he held a council of his principal subjects, and calling Mirza Jehangeer and Haidar Beg who were of the Sheea sect, as also Syud Ahmud Hirvey, and other learned men of that persuasion, to him addressed them saying that when the prophet appeared to him in a vision and had hailed him with the presage of his present dignity, he then made a vow that if his dream should ever be fulfilled, to promulgate the faith of the Imams, and grace the pulpit with proclamation of their titles ; that also when Timraj and Bahadur Geelany invaded his territories, and nearly seized the reigns of government from his hands, he had renewed his vow. He, therefore, wished to have their opinions, whether the present was not a fit time for its performance.[1]

The reactions were varied. All prayed for the prosperity of his house. Some favoured the step. Some pointed out the dangers within and without his kingdom—many of his nobles were Sunnis, so were also neighbouring rulers like Aḥmad of Ahmadnagar and Amīr Barid. But Yūsuf had made the vow and felt confident that God who had raised him to this power would help him. It was just at this time that word came that Shiism had been established in Persia under Shāh Ismā'īl I, and this strengthened Yūṣuf 'Adil Shāh in his determination to carry out his vow at this time and establish the Shiite doctrines in his dominions. Accordingly, he appointed a day for an assembly in the great mosque in Bijapur. At his command, Nakib Khān, a Sayyid from Medina, ascended the pulpit, and in the *adhān* included the sentence, " I bear testimony that 'Ali is the friend of God," and then read the *khuṭba* in the names of the twelve Imams. This was the first time that any ruler in India had dared to perform these ceremonies in public.[2]

The king showed his prudence and moderation in regulations that he made : in forbidding abusive epithets against the three *khulafā* so that fanaticism was prevented from spreading ; in not disturbing the Ḥanafī, Shāfi'i and Jafarī schools of law, and in permitting each person the free exercise of his own doctrine.

The results were varied. Many of the principal chiefs embraced the same tenets as their sovereign ; but some rigid Sunnis were prepared to leave his service. The two kingdoms of whose attitude

[1] *Ibid.*
[2] *Ibid.*, III, pp. 23/24.

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he had been warned combined against him. He defeated them, and then

> being no longer apprehensive of his enemies, he renewed the public exercise of the Sheea religion and inclined his mind to the improvement without meditating further conquests. At this time he sent Syud Ahmud Hirvy with presents and declarations of attachment to Shah Ismael Sufvy, King of Persia, with an account of his success in establishing the Sheea religion.[1]

Before his death, his son Ismā'īl being a minor, Yūsuf appointed Kamāl Khān as regent. He restored the Sunni forms, and then tried to strengthen his own position by grants of land, and gifts, preliminary to a plot to displace the young ruler. This plan was thwarted, however, by the faithfulness of " foreign " troops " of of the same country " as the king, who had been summoned through a eunuch in attendance on the king's aunt, Dilshad Agha, who had come to India with her brother. On ascending the throne, Ismā'il Shāh restored the Shiite forms and not only rewarded the troops for faithful service, but recalled nobles who had fled from fear of the regent. For twelve years he maintained only " foreign " troops and then admitted to the army children of foreigners who were born in India, and later, by degrees, enrolled Afghans and Rajputs provided they were not natives of the Deccan. This practice was more or less followed to the time of Ibrāhīm II.[2]

Early in the reign Shāh Ismā'īl of Persia sent an embassy to Vijayanagar and Gujerat. The envoy was imprisoned in Berar by Amīr Barid. On learning this, Ismā'īl 'Adil made such representations as secured his release, and then gave the ambassador presents and had him escorted to Dabul, from whence he sailed to Persia. In appreciative recognition of the assistance he had rendered his envoy, Shāh Ismā'īl sent an officer of high rank with presents and letters to Ismā'īl 'Adil which recognized Bijapur as an independent State, an honour not yet accorded any other of these kingdoms. In return, Ismā'īl 'Adil required his army to wear the red, twelve-pointed *tāj* or cap which had been the symbol of the *qizilbāsh* troops that had established Shāh Ismā'īl on his throne. A streamer of red cloth from the centre of the cap hung down at the back, from which the name ' red head ' or *qizilbāsh*. His bigotry was shown in forbidding anyone to come and go in

[1] *Ibid.*
[2] *Ibid.*, III, pp. 29/43 ; Havell, *op. cit.*, pp. 390/393.

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the city of Bijapur without this cap. Offenders were punished. He also ordered prayers to be said on holidays and Fridays for the Persian royal family.[1]

Ibrāhīm I, second son of Ismā'īl, was a zealous Sunni and completely reversed the religious policies of his father. Foreign troops which were dismissed entered the service of other kingdoms, even Vijayanagar taking three thousand, whose Hindu prince

> in order to reconcile them to the act of making obeisance to him caused a Koran to be placed before him when they came to pay their respects, which enabled them to do so without breach of the ordinances of their religion.[2]

Early, while his son 'Ali was but a youth, Ibrāhīm, in his presence, praised God that he had been permitted to abandon the heresies of his father and grandfather. The son replied that since he had had the freedom to choose his religion, it was incumbent on all good children to do likewise. Asked what his religion was, the son said it was then the same as his father's ; the future depended on God's direction. Concluding that 'Ali was a Shia, Ibrāhīm tried to assure the continuance of the Sunni practices after his death by disinheriting his son 'Ali. But when he found that his son Tahmasp was an even more bigoted Shia than 'Ali " he let matters take their course."[3] Ferishta tells us that Ibrāhīm put to death the first tutor of his sons because he was a Shia, but the one whom he put in his place " was also a Sheea, though for his own safety he outwardly professed the doctrines " of the Sunnis. As a further precaution to save his son from Shiite influences, Ibrāhīm imprisoned him with his tutor in the fort at Miraj with strict orders that no Shia was to go near him.

> It happened, however, that the Governor and his son-in-law, Kamal Khan Deccany, were privately of the Sheea sect, so that instead of observing the orders of the king, they attached themselves to the prince and endeavoured to acquire his good will by granting him every indulgence.[4]

No sooner had 'Ali become king than he issued orders for the *khuṭba* to be read in the names of the Imams, and he further ordered forty persons to be employed in his train to call out curses against the Ṣaḥāba, or first three *khulafā*. Curses were called

[1] Sherwani, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 47/48 ; Cam. Hist. III, pp. 434/475 ; King, J.S., The Taj or Red Cap of the Shiahs, JRAS 1896.
[2] Sherwani, *op. cit.*, pp. 73/80.
[3] Cam. Hist., III, p. 460.
[4] Ferishta, III, pp. 111/115.

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out in mosques, in public audiences, and in the king's presence whenever he appeared abroad.

Strange combinations occurred in the wars of this period: Shiite against Shiite kingdom, Muslim and Hindu against Muslim, all of which showed that with these rulers the defence or spread of religion was incidental. They were first of all anxious to safeguard their own positions and to extend their own borders wherever possible But the Muslims finally did unite against Vijayanagar and, at Talikota in 1565, won a complete victory over that kingdom. As a result of that victory, 'Ali Shāh extended his kingdom considerably to the south.

In the reign of Ibrāhīm II Sunni practices were again instituted, but for the most part, severe measures were avoided, and people were allowed to follow their own choice. As late as this reign, the Shāh of Persia sent another embassy to Bijapur, in recognition of one that had been sent to Persia from here. It would seem probable that these small kingdoms saw the threat to their existence that was arising on their northern horizon and were hoping that in some way their distant friend might be able to help them. At the same time it may well be true as 'Abdur Raḥīm suggests, that the Shāh of Persia himself hoped to use these kingdoms in some way to his advantage while he sought to regain Kandahar.[1]

During the reign of Muḥammad 'Adil Shāh, Shahjahan compelled the payment of tribute. Later this kingdom also paid tribute to the Mahrattas for a season. In 1686 Aurungzeb included this kingdom within the Moghul Empire.

It was during the reign of Ibrāhim II that Ferishta, the historian, entered the service of this dynasty. He had been born in Astarabad, North Persia in 1522 and was brought to Ahmadnagar as a child in the reign of Ḥusain Nizām Shāh I and entered the service of Murtaḍa Nizām Shāh I. Following the murder of Ḥusain II and owing to the persecution of the foreigners, he came to Bijapur.[2]

This dynasty has left monuments worthy of note: The mosque, large enough to accommodate five thousand persons kneeling, still in good condition; and the city wall; the masonry reservoir with aqueducts to supply water to the city, belong to the reign of 'Ali I. The tomb of Ibrāhīm II is chaste and beautiful; while the mausoleum over his son Maḥmūd has a dome second only to

[1] Abdur Rahim, Mughal Relations with Central Asia, Is. Cul. VIII, pp. 649/664.
[2] EI, Ferishta; E & D VI, pp. 207/209.

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that of St. Peter's in Rome. It was built about the same time as the Tāj Mahal.[1]

B. The Niẓām Shahs of Ahmadnagar

The founder of the Niẓām Shāhī kingdom is the convert mentioned near the close of our Bahmani account. He was the son of a Brahman from Vijayanagar, who had been made prisoner by the army of the Humāyūn 'Adil Shāh under Prince Aḥmad. At conversion he was given the name Ḥasan, and brought up among the royal slaves. Aḥmad, as king, made him a companion for his son, Muḥammad, with whom he was educated and attained eminence in Persian and Arabic literature. He was known as Mālik Ḥasan Bahri. Aḥmad III showed him favours, and enlarged his *jagīr*. He was a favourite of the minister Maḥmūd Gāwān and his promotions were hastened. His strength increased until in 1490 he was able to defeat the forces of the Bahmani king sent against him, and he then had the *khuṭba* read in his name and established his capital at Ahmadnagar, taking the title Aḥmad Niẓām Shāh.[2] The Shahs of this dynasty are :

Aḥmad Niẓām Shāh	896/1490	Ibrāhīm	1003/1594
Burhān I	915/1509	Bahādur	1004/1596
Ḥusain	960/1553	Aḥmad II (Pretender) ..	1004/1596
Murtaḍa I	973/1565	Murtaḍa II ..	1012/1603
Ḥusain II	995/1586	Ḥusain III ..	1040/1630
Ismā'īl	997/1589		–1043/1633
Burhān II	999/1591		

Aḥmad died in 1508. His son, Burhān Niẓām Shāh, was then only seven years of age. All efforts to set him aside were defeated and, on reaching his maturity, young Burhān himself commenced to rule. Early he came under the influence of a strong personality, Shāh Ṭāḥir Junaidī. This man had come to India from Persia in the time of Humāyūn and had later entered the Deccan. Shāh Ṭāḥir became minister under Burhān and served his monarch efficiently in that position, and also as envoy extraordinary. He also persuaded his sovereign to become a Shia.[3]

An early point of friction between Berar and Ahmadnagar was the desire of the Niẓām Shahis to possess a small place called Pathri, which was near their boundary line, and to include it in

[1] Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 298 ; Ferishta, *op. cit.*, I xlv, III, p. 143 ; IGI, 1908, II, pp. 385/387.
[2] Sherwani, *op. cit.*, p. 89 ; Cam. Hist. III, pp. 190/198.
[3] Cam. Hist. III, p. 460 ; Or. Biog. Dict., Tahir.

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their territory. It had been here that Ahmad Niẓām Shah's ancestors had worked as accountants. The resulting conflict brought the Niẓām Shahis against Bahādur Shāh of Gujerat, who withdrew only when the contending rivals agreed to have the *khuṭba* read in his name. In 1530, it became desirable for Burhān to have an interview with Bahādur Shāh but he could not humble himself to stand before him after he had declared his independence of the Bahmanis. Shāh Ṭāhir handled the situation in this wise : Burhān had a copy of the Qur'ān in the handwriting of 'Ali. Taking this with him, he accompanied Burhān to the presence of Bahādur Shāh, who at once inquired from Shāh Ṭāhir what he held. On hearing that it was a Qur'ān in the handwriting of 'Ali, Bahadur Shah was most interested :

> He instantly descended from the throne, kissed it three times, and put it to his eyes and his forehead. He then received the compliments of Burhan Nizam Shah, and asked him in the Gujerati language if he was well, to which Burhan replied in Persian, Bahadur Shah now reascended his throne, and Burhan Nizam Shah and Shah Tahir stood before it. Observing that Shah Tahir, a holy man of the first rank, was standing before him, Bahadur Shah desired him to be seated, but he excused himself as his master was standing. He then requested Burhan Nizam Shah to sit also![1]

After the interview, Burhān Niẓām Shāh was allowed to return to his kingdom with the recognition of Bahādur Shāh, who gave him a sword, and a dagger set with jewels, and presented him with a royal canopy. Burhān also gave some presents but Bahādur Shāh received only a Qur'ān and a sword on which the name of an Abbasid *khalīfa* was engraved, and four elephants and two Arab horses. On his way back to Ahmadnagar, Burhān visited the shrines of holy men who were buried at Daulatabad.

In 944/1537 Burhān officially

> rejected the names of the Sahaba, (the first three Caliphs) from the Khutba and substituted those of the Imams, and as the colour of their standards was green he changed the colour of his canopy and standards to the same. He also (God forgive him!)[2] settled pensions on persons to curse and revile the first three Caliphs and their followers in the mosques and in the streets.

As a result of this change in the custom of the kingdom, the king

[1] Ferishta, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 223/224.

[2] This exclamatory prayer identifies the writer as a Sunni. Ferishta died in 1623. Briggs has continued the story from an unnamed historian.

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was besieged in his palace. The arrest of the leader and his imprisonment caused the disturbance to subside. Gujarat, Khandesh and Bijapur combined against Burhān, but he contrived to pacify Gujarat and Khandesh, and then with the use of the foreign troops who had recently been dismissed by Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh, he invaded Bijapur !

At a later date, 1548, Briggs' historian relates that a delegation of " deputies from a political party in Bijapur " (doubtless Shias) waited on Burhān to say that they were so oppressed by the cruelties of Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh's administration that they would like to put in his place the younger brother, Prince 'Abdullāh, who had to flee to Goa. But Shāh Ṭāhir had died in 1545 and the king, in spite of promised help from Jamshed Quṭb Shāh, withdrew from the enterprise.

Burhān Niẓām Shāh died in 1553. His body was embalmed and sent to Kerbala that it might be buried near the tomb of Ḥusain.[1]

An item of general interest might here be noted, namely, that the large brass cannon of Bijapur was cast during the reign of this Burhān Shāh by Cholabi Rumi Khan.

We have already referred, in our account of the 'Adil Shahs, to the Muslim coalition against the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar. Our historian here records the fact that when the Muslim divisions moved forward in that campaign, each division erected twelve standards in honour of the twelve Imams, before proceeding to the attack.

In 1574 the kingdom of Berar was annexed.

The Shiite had remained as the recognized religious rites in the kingdom until Ḥusain II came to the throne. He ruled with such tyranny that he was early replaced. Religious rivalries now broke out and for a short period the Deccanese gained control and a thousand foreigners were killed within a week. Ismā'īl took the place of Ḥusain II. He was preferred to his elder brother, Ibrāhīm, whose mother had been an African. Jamal Khān, a Deccani, supported Ismā'īl. Jamal Khān was a *Mahdawī*, a follower of Sayyid Muḥammad Jaunpuri who had claimed to be the *Mahdī*, and he persuaded the king to accept him also. Shiism was dis-established. The *Mahdawī* sect was an outgrowth of the widespread belief that near the turn of the millenium the *Mahdī* would come. Jamal Khān persecuted all those who would not accept his position, whether Shia or Sunni. This led again to

[1] Ferishta, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 231/236.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 243.

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bloodshed. Jamal Khān was defeated and Burhān Niẓām Shāh II, father of Ismā'īl, took the throne after the son had reigned only two years. Burhān II was a brother of Murtaḍa. He set aside all orders respecting the *Mahdawī* doctrines and ordered the followers of that sect to be put to death. This had the result of expelling the sect. The Shiite rites were restored. Burhān II nominated his son Ibrāhīm to succeed him, so that Ismā'īl, who was both a *Mahdawī* and anti-Shia, might not again come to the throne. A rebellion in Ismā'īl's favour was put down.[1]

In the early part of the seventeenth century, during the reign of Murtaḍa II, the Shāh of Persia received an embassy from Ahmadnagar, and also sent his representative to the ruler here. But it was too late for any mutual help. The independence of the Niẓām Shāhī dynasty was lost when Akbar was able to make them pay tribute, but it was not merged into the empire until the reign of Shah Jahan, in the year 1633.[2]

C. The Quṭb Shahs of Golconda

Sulṭān Quli was born at Sadabad in Ḥamadān, Persia. In the conflicts between Turkoman clans called the Black and the White Sheep, he had to flee and was brought by his uncle to the Deccan. He later returned to his father, but the lure of the Deccan was on him, and when the 'White Sheep' won control he deemed it prudent to leave the country.

> I consented to proceed again to the Deccan with a number of fine horses and other presents for the Bahmany King; but I previously went to take leave of my grand uncle, Shah Noor ood Deen, at Yezd. Shah Noor ood Deen was my spiritual pastor, as well as my dear relation—and as he was skilled in astrology, and by the divine favour had an insight into futurity, he told me, on my departure, that I should one day be king over a portion of Hindustan.[3]

His uncle had again come with him and, having an opportunity for an audience with Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmanī, he left Sulṭān Qulī at court where Maḥmūd had promised to treat him as a son. It was on an evening, after a festive gathering, that the king was attacked by a group of 'Deccanis', and was saved by a few 'foreigners' of whom Sulṭān Qulī was a leader. As a reward,

[1] Ferishta, *op. cit.*, III, p. 280 ff.; Cam. Hist., III, p. 461.
[2] EI Nizam Shahi; Akbar Nama, E & D VI, pp. 132/146.
[3] Ferishta, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 341/342.

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he was given the title Mālik Quṭb al Mulk. He later proved his courage in other campaigns, and was rewarded with the government of Tulingana and other estates. When Maḥmūd Shāh died, other governors threw off what little allegiance they still owed, but Sulṭān Qulī

> still continued allegiance to the shadow of royalty which remained, retained possession of the Province of Tulingana, making Golconda his seat of government.[1]

Here he first consolidated his position, adding conquests "from the remains of the Warangal family and other chiefs of Tulingana."[2] Having done this he felt he was ready.

> It is now nearly sixty years since I was first engaged in spreading the banners of the faithful, and reducing the infidels of Tulingana from the borders of Wurungole to Masulipatam and Tajamundry, having taken between sixty and seventy forts by force of arms.—I also swore by the Prophet and his descendant Ally, that if I ever succeeded in establishing my independence, I would promote the faith of the Twelve Imams, in parts where the banners of the faithful had never before waved; but let it not be supposed that I took up the idea from Shah Ismael of Persia, for be it known I before professed the religion of the Twelve (on whom be the peace of God!) from the period of the reign of Sultan Yakoob, as being the faith of my ancestors. Here am I nearly arrived at the age of a hundred years, most of which time has been spent in disseminating the principles of the true faith; and I now wish to retire from the world, and to spend the last few days which remain in prayer.[3]

The Shahs of this dynasty are:

Sulṭān Qulī	.. 917/1512	Muḥammad Qulī	988/1580
Jamshīd	.. 950/1543	Muḥammad	.. 1021/1612
Subhān	.. 957/1550	'Abd Allāh	.. 1035/1626
Ibrāhīm	.. 958/1550	Abū al Ḥasan	.. 1083/1672 1687

In 917/1512, with the support of his nobles, Sulṭān Qulī assumed the rule as king, and issued orders that the *khuṭba* should be read in the name of the Twelve Imams throughout his territory. In taking this step he seems to have had no opposition.[4] Sulṭān Qulī was assassinated by order of his son Jauhar in 1543. He was said to be ninety years old. Shortly before, he had been supervising the construction of a private entrance into the mosque

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 352.
[2] Elphinstone, *op. cit.*, p. 760.
[3] Ferishta, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 352/355.
[4] Elphinstone, *op. cit.*, p. 760.

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when his handkerchief, on which were the names of the Imams, fell to the ground. He returned at once to his house until the next day. A simple monument of black stone arranged in seven plinths covers his grave. On some of the plinths are inscribed extracts from the Qur'ān, on some, the Shiite confession of faith, and on others, the throne verse.[1]

The Shiite continued to be the established form of religion throughout the dynasty. An embassy from Shāh 'Abbās of Persia came to the court in Hyderabad (built in 1589 by order of Muhammad Qulī and first called Baghnagar) in 1603, as an expression of the increasing friendship between the two rulers. He was received in audience by the king at Golconda, and presented with rich presents, jewels, horses, carpets and velvet. The special object of the journey was to obtain a daughter of Muḥammad Qulī for one of the Princes of Persia. The ambassador stayed in Hyderabad for six years, during which time the girl was married to her own cousin. The envoy returned to his sovereign laden with presents.[2]

Again in 1621 another ambassador was received from Persia in recognition of an embassy that had gone from Golconda earlier. The probable purpose of these was to cement the tie of friendship between the two Shiite powers, in order to afford protection against the rising power of the Mughals.

The Quṭb Shahs were more continuously in conflict with the Hindu rulers than the other Muslim kingdoms. This may have been due in part to a mutual desire to extend territory. It would seem also to have been partly due to the desire of Sulṭān Qulī "to disseminate the principles of true faith". Whatever the cause, conflicts were increasingly frequent, and successes of Vijayanagar came to be a threat to the separate Muslim kingdoms. The Quṭb Shahs joined with the three other states to protect themselves, and at Talikota decisively and finally removed the danger on their frontiers.

The Quṭb Shāhī kingdom was renowned for its wealth. It is the only one of the five that ever struck gold coins.

> Haidarabad was at this time the centre of the diamond trade, not of Asia alone, but of the whole world. Numbers of foreign traders assembled here and transacted business. The kingdom was famous for several industries. The steel works of Nirma and Indur . . . supplied the material for the world-famed

[1] Rocco, Sha, Golconda and the Qutb Shahs, p. 52.
[2] Ferishta, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 475/476.

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> Damascus blades, and the local output of swords, lances and daggers was distributed in large quantities over all parts of India. The skilled cloth weavers of Masulipatam . . . and the chintz woven there had a continental celebrity. The carpet industry of Ellore, conducted entirely by Muhammadans, was famous . . . to flourishing handicrafts must be added the diamond and gold mines that made the name of Golconda known even in far-off Europe.[1]

In similar vein Ferishta writes :

> During the just reign of Ibrahim Kootb Shah, Tulingana like Egypt, became the mart of the whole world. Merchants from Toorkistan, Arabia and Persia, resorted to it ; and they met with such encouragement that they found in it inducements to return frequently. The greatest luxuries from foreign parts daily abounded at the king's hospitable board.[2]

It might be expected that rulers so wealthy would construct lasting monuments. They did. The list of monuments is large. Outstanding are the Char Minar, an *'Ashūr khāna* or Imambara, palace and gardens of Ilāhi Mahal, Jama' Masjid, colleges and hospitals. Sulṭān Muḥammad Qulī is said to have spent the equivalent of three million pounds sterling on public buildings and irrigation works. One Mīr Momin, who came to Hyderabad from Kerbala in the reign of 'Abd Allāh arranged for an extensive consecrated burial ground which would serve as the necropolis for the Shiite sect. It contains his remains. It is now used for both the Shiite and Sunni communities.[3]

One of the men who did much to extend the boundaries and to develop the wealth of the state was Sayyid Muḥammad, later known as Mīr Jumla, a native of Ardistan, Persia, whose father was an oil merchant. Like many another Shiite adventurer who had come to the Deccan, he too won success and fame :

> As a diamond merchant he rose to great wealth by his shrewdness and business capacity. His wonderful talents gained him the favour of Abdullah Qutb Shah, who made him his prime minister. Mir Jumla's industry, rapid despatch of business, administrative capacity, military genius, and inborn power of leadership ensured his success in all that he undertook. Great alike in civil government and in war, he soon became the virtual ruler of Golkonda : nothing could reach the Sultan save with his approval.[4]

[1] Sarkar, *op. cit.*, I/5I, p. 188.
[2] Ferishta, *op. cit.*, pp. 445/446.
[3] IGI 1908, XIII, p. 308.
[4] Sarkar, *op. cit.*, I/II, p. 193.

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Reports were made to the king against him, suspicions were aroused, and finally in his absence, the king got an opportunity to imprison Mīr Jumla's son when he was in a drunken fit. This was the spark—the fuse was already laid. Aurungzeb, son of the Emperor Shah Jahan, was viceroy of the Deccan and had cast longing eyes toward the wealth of Golconda. He made secret offers to Mīr Jumla, who also had correspondence with the Shāh of Persia and the 'Adil Shāhī king concerning his services. Succour to Mīr Jumla with whom a break with his sovereign occurred, was the opportunity Aurungzeb needed. He invaded the kingdom, sacked Hyderabad, and laid seige to the king in his Golconda fort. He earnestly pleaded with his father, Shah Jahan, for permission to annex the kingdom, for

> Qutb-ul-mulk was a godless wretch, (he wrote) ungrateful for imperial favours, sunk in vices unworthy of a king, a violator of the purity of his subjects' homes, an oppressor against whom the people were invoking the Heavens, a heretic who had perverted all his subjects from the pure Sunni faith, and lastly an ally and financial supported of the king of Persia. Not to punish such a heretical ruler would be failure of duty on the part of an orthodox Islamic emperor![1]

In 1656, the Emperor made terms on the basis of an annual indemnity, the cession of certain territory, and, according to Elphinstone, an agreement that the reading of the name of the Shāh of Persia in the public prayers would be discontinued. Mīr Jumla went to the side of the Mughals and served them for many years.

In 1685, Aurungzeb attacked Bijapur. Golconda promised him help against the Mughals. That was the last straw, for the letter with the offer of forty thousand men fell into the hands of Aurungzeb, and he sent an army under Shāh 'Alam to lay siege to Golconda. Then needing all his troops to defeat Bijapur, Aurungzeb made an offer to Abū al Ḥasan Shah, and withdrew his troops ; but the offer was not fulfilled. As soon as Bijapur was reduced, Aurungzeb turned his attention to Golconda. Abū al Ḥasan still hoped to retain some degree of independence and asked pardon. An imperial *farmān* set forth his conduct and the refusal of his request. Among others the *farmān* stipulated these charges:

> . . . Oppressing and afflicting the Sayyids, Shaikhs, and other holy men ; . . . making no distinction between infidelity and Islam, tyranny and justice, depravity and devotion ; . . .

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 211/212.

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want of obedience to the Divine commands and prohibitions, especially to that command which forbids assistance to an enemy's country.[1]

Ghāzi al dīn Firoz Jung, the father of the first Niẓām was in charge of Mughal troops that occupied Hyderabad. Golconda was finally reduced in the autumn of 1098/1687. Abū al Ḥasan was allowed to live in a residence in Daulatabad until his death in 1704. Ghāzi al dīn's son, Asaf Jāh, or Niẓām al Mulk, became viceroy of the Deccan under Aurungzeb.

[1] Rocco, Sha, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

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CHAPTER VIII

The Ithna 'Ashariya Come to India II

The Mughal Period

The emperors of the Mughal Dynasty were for the most part Sunnis, some of them vigorously so. But the leaven of Shiism worked not only within the kingdom but within the court and also within the families of the rulers, exerting an influence on policies that was not seen on the surface. Bābur, the founder, reached India already marked by Shiite limitations which dogged his successors for years. The emperors of the dynasty are :

Bābur ..	.. 933/1526	Bahādur Shāh	.. 1119/1707
Humāyūn	.. 937/1530	Jahāndar Shāh	.. 1124/1712
Akbar ..	.. 964/1556	Farokhsīr ..	.. 1125/1713
Jahāngīr	.. 1014/1605	Two Pretenders	.. 1132/1719
Shāhjahān	.. 1037/1627	Muḥammad Shāh	.. 1132/1719
Aurungzeb	.. 1068/1658		–1161/1748

Zahīr al dīn Muḥammad Bābur was fifth in direct line from Tīmūr Lang, also called Tamerlane, who was the " conqueror of Asia " ; while on his mother's side he was related to Chengis Khan. Tīmūr had built up one of the most extensive kingdoms, but after his death it rapidly shrank. Bābur's father held only Ferghana when Bābur succeeded him, a mere youth in 899/1494 By 1497 the Uzbegs had practically left him as a king without a country. Yet Bābur did not give up. By a fortunate campaign, he won Kabul and Ghazna (Afghanistan) and Badakhshan in 1504. This victory roughly coincided with the time when Ismā'īl was laying the foundations of the Safavi dynasty in Persia. Timur's ancestors had followed and encouraged the Sunni form ; in fact, Tīmūr after 1380 had become " the official protector of Islam,"[1] although it has been said that he himself was a Shia.[2] But Shiism had acquired great strength within parts of the kingdom, as in Herat where Sulṭān Ḥusain ibn Bayqara made an effort to follow the example of Persia in making Shiism the State

1 EI, Timur.
2 Haig, *op. cit.*, JRAS 1924, p. 79.

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religion. Bābur speaks of this in his own history and Browne writes concerning Bābur :

> whether from conviction or policy (he) showed enough partiality towards the Shi'a faction to cause great disaffection amongst his Central Asian Sunni subjects.[1]

In 1510–1512, when Bābur wished to regain Samarkand for his kingdom and requested the help of Shāh Ismā'īl, the assistance was granted on the condition that he recognize the suzerainty of the Shāh. This he did by putting on the Shiite dress, and especially the cap which had religious significance because its twelve points represented the Twelve Imams. He also issued an order that all of his troops should adopt the dress and especially the cap.[2] For a season Bābur was successful in recovering his ancestral lands, but he again lost them and returned to Kabul. Kandahar was added to his dominions. He remained loyal to Shāh Ismā'īl, and also apparently to the Shiite faith.[3]

Bābur had made an earlier invasion of India which was little more than a reconnaissance, and he liked the country. In 1526, at the battle of Panipat, he won control of north-western India, several years after Shāh Ismā'īl of Persia had recognized the 'Adil Shāhī kingdom as an independent state. Babur rapidly extended his conquests to Bengal on the east and to Central India, and included Sind which had been won for him by a friend of the Timurids and was held under suzerainty of Bābur. When he had established his power the *khuṭba* was read in his name. His coins struck in Lahore bore the names of the four ' rightly guided ' *khulafā* which, Buckler suggests, constituted a challenge both to the Persian Shāh and the Turkish Sulṭān.[4] To the former it savoured of renunciation of the allegiance Bābur owed him ; to the latter it seemed a denial of recognition he felt was his right.

Dr. Abdur Rahim points out how often the Ottoman Sultans tried in vain to break the Indo-Persian friendship, and to form a triple alliance against the Shiite Persians. Because of the hope that they might some day have an opportunity to recover their ancestral lands to the west and north, the Mughals bore the charge of ' deviation from orthodoxy.' After all, Constantinople was far. Kandahar became a bone of contention between Persia

[1] Browne, E. G., A Literary History of Persia, III, p. 456 ; IV, p. 64.
[2] Erskine, W., History of India under the First Two Sovereigns of the House of Taimur, pp. 319/320.
[3] Buckler, F. W., A New Interpretation of Akbar's Decree of 1579, JRAS 1924, pp. 596/597.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 598.

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and Delhi, but the soft corner that the Timurids had in their hearts for Shiite doctrines and their obligations to the Shāh, made friendliness with Persia more politic.[1]

In a will that Bābur left to his son Humāyūn, a copy of which is said to be preserved in the State Library at Bhopal, there is this clause, which, we may be confident, was born in the varied experiences of the father: "Always ignore the mutual dissension of Shi'ahs and Sunnis, otherwise they will lead to the weakness of Islam."[2] Bābur died near Agra in 1530. His remains were taken to Kabul for interment.

Humāyūn

Humāyūn had been especially named by Bābur as his successor. His mother was a Persian lady from a saintly family.[3] "His education and his tastes were entirely Persian."[4] His brothers were against him. Sher Khān had accepted Babūr's regime but rejected Humāyūn, and twice defeating him, forced him to flee. Against his will Humāyūn entered Persia as the most likely place of refuge. He stayed with the Governor of Sistan hoping to hear from the Shāh. While he was here, the Governor's brother, Ḥusain Qulī Sulṭān, was one of several important visitors. He had come from Mashad and from him Humāyūn inquired about Shiism. Because no word had come from the Shāh, Humāyūn accompanied his host to Herat and Mashad. When word came from the Shāh it was that Humāyūn was to be royally treated in every province. He remained forty days in Mashad, but because he was a Sunni, his visit to the tomb of Imam 'Ali al Riḍa was private.[5]

Returning from the pilgrimage Humāyūn was met by a delegation from the Shāh which presented him with a complete dress of honour. Humāyūn put on the whole excepting the cap. When Humāyūn met him, the Shāh soon raised the question of the cap. Using the word "*tāj*", he said: "The *tāj* is a mark of greatness. I will put it on." The Shāh, with his own hands, placed the cap on the head of the Emperor Humāyūn. It was not, however the acceptance that Tahmasp wanted and he determined to try coercion.

[1] Abdur Rahim, *op. cit.*, Is. Cul., VIII, pp. 459/460.
[2] Titus, *op. cit.*, p. 157.
[3] EI, Humayun.
[4] Havell, *op. cit.*, p. 422.
[5] Buckler, *op. cit.*, JRAS 1924, p. 599; Erskine, *op. cit.*, p. 275.

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THE ITHNA 'ASHARIYA COME TO INDIA—II

Ferishta relates that the son of the Shāh, Bairam Mirza, had developed an intense dislike for Humāyūn and spoke against him to the Shāh at every opportunity he had. Humāyūn feared death or imprisonment, until the Shāh's sister, Sulṭāna Begum, and two from the nobles, interceded for him. The sister wrote verses extolling Humāyūn's devotion to 'Ali. The Shāh took the hint and promised not only Humāyūn's life, but also that he would assist him to recover his throne if he would accept Shiism himself and promise to enforce the doctrines in his kingdom. Humāyūn assented to the Sulṭāna his acceptance of these terms, and added

> that he had always privately been well disposed to the Sheeas, out of which had originated partly the animosity of his brothers.[1]

In the course of the efforts to persuade Humāyūn to declare himself a Shia, the Shāh threatened that he and his followers would be thrown into a great fire if they did not conform. After this threat a minister went to persuade him. Humāyūn wanted a written statement of what would be necessary to do. He had read and laid aside two papers when the Shāh came with a third, and this was apparently signed.[2] Marshman adds the detail that Humāyūn's wearing of the red cap was announced by a triumphal flourish by the king's band;[3] while Elphinstone stresses some conditions which make clear not only that Humāyūn accepted the Shiite faith but that he promised to introduce it in India, and also to cede Kandahar to the Shāh.[4]

The fact that Humāyūn asked to be allowed to make a pilgrimage to the tomb of Shaikh Ṣafī, the saint of the new dynasty, suggests that his acceptance of the faith was not merely a form. As would be expected, the Shāh gave him every facility and the Emperor made rich gifts to the shrine.[5]

If Sulṭāna Begum correctly represented the opposition of Humāyūn's brothers as being in part due to his friendliness to Shiism, it suggests that the change of religion was not so much his problem as his dislike of becoming a vassal of the Shāh, knowing full well that the opposition which had driven him out would be much stronger against his return—and he did want to return to Delhi.

[1] Ferishta, *op. cit.*, II, p. 155.
[2] Erskine, *op. cit.*, p. 288; Elphinstone, *op. cit.*, p. 465; Smith, V. A. Akbar the Great Mogul, p. 17.
[3] Marshman, J. C., History of India, p. 50.
[4] Elphinstone, *op. cit.*, p. 465.
[5] Ferishta, *op. cit.*, II, p. 155.

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After Humāyūn had finally signed his decision, Bairam Beg, who had been with him, was given the title of Khān, and known henceforth as Bairam Khān. He led the army on the return to India in 1556, fifteen years after Humāyūn had left, and continued as the Emperor's chief minister, and, it would appear, as liason officer between the Emperor and the Shāh. Humāyūn had been in Delhi less than six months when he met his death by falling from the staircase that led from the terraced roof of his library.

Akbar

Akbar's mother was a Persian.[1] When his father, Humāyūn, died, he was still a minor. During his minority, Bairam Khān, whom we have already met under Humāyūn's reign as an active Shia, served as regent. He appointed 'Abd al Laṭīf as a tutor to Akbar. Of him it was said that while he was in Persia, from which country he was a refugee, he was accused of being a Sunni, and in India of being a Shia.[2] Bairam Khān had been in the service of Bābur and his family, helping both Bābur and Humāyūn to get their empire in India. His long service in the family had not been without its influence on Akbar. Writing at a later date Budāūni says of Akbar's innovations: "These sentiments had been long growing up in his mind, and ripened gradually into a firm conviction of their truth."[3] In 1564 twins were born to Akbar and he named them Ḥasan and Ḥusain.[4] During the regency, 1558–1559, an appointment was made "at the Protector's instance"[5] which aroused the strong censure of the Sunnis. The office of *Ṣadr al Ṣudūr*, the highest law office in the realm, had been filled for a long time by Shaikh 'Abd al Nabī, a Sunni. In that position he had had almost unlimited power in the assignment of crown lands, and he had conspired "to see that no grants had ever been bestowed on any but orthodox Musulmans." The office also carried with it the power of capital punishment for heresy. Bairam Khān removed Shaikh 'Abd al Nabī and put in his place a Shia. This appointment of a Shia to the fourth place in the realm, "over the heads of all the magnates of Hindustan Khurasan" aroused so much opposition from the Sunnis as to

[1] Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 57.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 41.
[3] Badauni, Tarikh i Badauni, E & D, V, p. 531.
[4] Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 75.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 4-.

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become one of the reasons for the overthrow of Bairam Khān.[1] Later Akbar took the administration of that department into his own hands. Orthodox sentiment went so far as to invite Muḥammad Ḥākim, the king's half-brother, then in Afghanistan, to invade India against Akbar. He was defeated.[2]

In 1567 Akbar for the first time met Shakh Faizi at Chitor. His grandfather, of Arab descent, had come from Sistan to Nagore ; his father, Shaikh Mubārak, had moved to Agra. Another son, Abū al Faḍl, was four years younger than Faizi, who made his name as a poet while earning his living as a physician. Faizi taught the princes in the higher branches of knowledge and joined the court in 1568. Abū al Faḍl joined the court in 1574. His was " one of those pure friendships founded on mutual esteem and mutual sympathy, which form the delight of existence."[3] These two brothers, with their father, filled a very important place in the reign of Akbar. Shaikh Mubārak was a man of very deep learning. He had been a follower of Shaikh 'Alā'ī, who had posed as the expected Mahdī, and preached a sort of socialism. In the time of Islām Shāh this 'Alā'ī had been condemned to death by the orthodox *'ulamā*. The king commuted the sentence to banishment, but 'Alā'ī did not ' banish ' and finally died under the lash. Shaikh Mubārak had opened a school of divinity at Agra and had suffered much from discrimination against him because of his religious views. On one occasion, his son, Faizi, had applied to the Qaḍi i Jahān, Shaikh 'Abd al Nabī, for a grant of a small tract of land. He was refused " solely because he was a Shiah (and driven) from the hall with contumely and insult."[4]

Up to the time of meeting this family, there is general agreement that Akbar had acted as an orthodox Sunni. Mubārak's sons had followed the liberal tendencies of the father and all three shared closely in the developments in Akbar's attitudes. Concerning Faizi, Budāūni writes as follows :

> As an author he was sometimes serious, sometimes jocose, conceited, proud and malevolent. He was full of hypocrisy, malignity, dissimulation, ambition, arrogance and egotism. In his obstinacy and animosity he reviled the earlier and later Khalifas and disciples, the ancestors and descendants of the Prophet, the wise and the excellent, the pious and the saintly, and, in short, all Musulmans in general, and ridiculed the

[1] *Ibid.*
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 185/188.
[3] Malleson, G. B. Rulers of India, Akbar, pp. 149/151.
[4] *Ibid.*

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> principles of their faith, publicly and privately, by night and by day. His conduct was so abominable, that even Jews, Christians, Hindus, Sabians and Guebres are considered a thousand times less odious. He acted entirely against the tenets of the Muhammedan religion. What was forbidden in that, was lawful to him, and vice versa.[1]

Abū al Faḍl had taken a leading part in urging an attitude of tolerance to all, whatever their religious views might be. Also in the matter of starting periodical religious discussions in the *'ibādat khāna* or meeting-hall, at Fatehpur-Sikri, in which all religious communities shared, he had a leading part in these

> Sufis, doctors, preachers, lawyers, Sunnis, Shias, Brahmans, Jains, Buddhists, Charbaks (Hindu materialists), Christians, Jews, Zoroastrians, and learned men of every belief were gathered together in the royal assembly and were filled with life.[2]

A second period in Akbar's reign, marked by a great influx of persons with heretical opinions from Persia, began about 1576. Conditions there became more adverse for many by the conversion of the Shāh to the Sunni faith. Many came to the Mughal court. Keene calls it "a new invasion carried out with weapons of the mind."[3] Many of these were religious leaders, poets, scholars and philosophers who made lasting contributions to the culture of the country. Some were interested in pet heresies and found in the forum discussions a unique opportunity to further their purposes. Two extracts from a contemporary Sunni author show how it looked to the orthodox. The first concerns three brothers from Gilan near the Caspian, who came to Delhi :

> The eldest brother by his subserviency attained an extraordinary ascendancy over the Emperor. He flattered him openly, adapted himself to every change in the religious ideas of His Majesty and pushing forward, he soon became a most intimate friend of Akbar. Soon after there came to court Mulla Muhammad of Yazd, who got the name of *Yazidi*. He attached himself to the Emperor, and concocted the most extravagant censures against the *Sahaba* . . . He told extraordinary stories about them, and tried hard to make the Emperor a Shi'a. But this man was soon left behind by Birbal, that bastard, and by Shaikh Abu'l Fazl and Hakim Abu'l Fath. They turned the Emperor from the Religion, and made

[1] Badauni, *op. cit.*, III, p. 299, Trans. E. & D, V, p. 545.
[2] Abu'l Fazl, Akbar Nama, III, p. 215, Trans. E & D, VI, p. 59 ; see also Maclagan, E., The Jesuits and the Great Mogul, pp. 29 ff.
[3] Keene, H. G., History of India, p. 316 ; Turks in India, p. 55.

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> him a perfect sceptic of inspiration, the prophetic office, the miracles and wonders, and the law. They carried matters to such a length, that I, the author, could no longer bear them company. . . . As history was read from day to day, His Majesty's faith in the companions of the Prophet began to be shaken, and the breach grew broader. The daily prayers, the fasts and prophecies were all pronounced delusions as being opposed to sense. Reason, not revelation, was declared to be the basis of religion.[1]

Mullā Aḥmad of Thatta, who had apostasized and in 'Irāq associated with some heretic Iranians, but exceeded their notorious heresy—

> went in his 22nd year to Meshed, and thence to Yezd and Shiraz, where he entered on a course of medical study, and read the *Kulyat-i Kanun* of Avicenna, and the *Sharh-i Tajrid*, with all the commentaries. He then went to Kazwin, where he had an interview with Shah Tahmasp, and when Shah Isma'il the second was converted to the Sunni doctrine, he went to Irak-i 'Arab and Mecca, and after mixing with several celebrated scholars in those parts proceeded to the Dekhin, to the court of Kutb Shah of Golconda, and in the 27th year of Akbar's reign came to Fatehpur Sikri. . . . Here, finding no opposition to the prosecution of his designs, he began to teach his absurd doctrines, and invite converts to the Shi'a persuasion.[2]

As a result of these influences together with the discussions he had shared in, two things happened : (1) The leading *'Ulamā* and lawyers signed a statement known as the infallibility decree which conferred on Akbar the rank of *Imām-i-'Adil* (just leader), "higher in the eyes of God than the rank of a *mujtahid*," with supreme authority in all religious matter, his decisions to be final on all Muslims.[3] (2) Akbar then proclaimed a new religion called *Din Ilahi* (Divine Religion) which ignored Prophet and Quran ; initiation into which was in charge of Akbar himself.[4]

Neither of these steps was in accordance with Shiism. We have noted them because it was intended to bring together in one faith the seventy-two sects of Islam and any other communities, and because the discussions started under the instigation of men who were, or who had been, Shias. But if Buckler's interpretation[5] of the situation leading to the " Infallibility Decree " of

[1] Budauni, *op. cit.*, II, p. 70, Trans. E & D, V, p. 524.
[2] E. & D, V, pp. 150/153.
[3] Budauni, *op. cit.*, II, p. 270, Trans. E & D, V, pp. 531/533.
[4] Smith, *op. cit.*,
[5] Buckler, *op. cit.*, JRAS 1924, pp. 591/608.

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1579 is correct, the intent of the Decree was political rather than chiefly religious. Akbar and his adversaries were looking for release from the constant restraint which Persia had exerted and which now threatened to operate from two sides—from the Shiite kingdoms in the Deccan and from Persia—in a vise that offended Mughal pride. Akbar had never been free to declare himself a Sunni or a Shia. To have done the former would have brought the Iranian and Deccani forces against him ; to have done the latter would seem to admit the suzerainty his father had accepted. The effect of the decree, on the one hand then, was to break that suzerainty which Persia had wielded by placing Akbar above the mujtahids, who were the guardians of the Shiite faith and virtual rulers above the Shāh. On the other hand, by putting Akbar in the position of *khalīfa* so that his decision " shall be binding and imperative on every man " the decree removed any need of Sunnis in India looking to Turkey for their leaders. In keeping with this interpretation, Buckler declares that Akbar personally read the *khuṭba* in 1579, and Mughal histories after this frequently apply the term *khalīfa* to him.

Jahāngīr to Aurungzeb

The accession of Jahāngīr brought to an end the religious experiments that characterized his father's reign. His and the next two reigns strongly emphasized orthodox Sunni positions, but the royal families were not free from Shiite influences. Jahāngīr was married to Nūr Jahān, whose grandfather had held high office in the Persian government. That Jahāngīr was not entirely orthodox is indicated by the fact that he kept figures of Christ and the Virgin Mary. Shāh Jahān was married to the daughter of Muzaffar Ḥusain Mirza ; Parwāz and Shuja' married daughters of Rustam Ṣafavi. Shuja' professed to be a Shia.[1] Dāra Shukoh, brother of Aurungzeb, openly professed the tenets of Akbar and was condemned as a heretic by Sunni doctors of law.[2]

Aurungzeb's eldest son, Shāh 'Alam, who succeeded his father as Bahādur Shāh, was engaged in the campaign against Golconda. One of the offences of Abū al Ḥasan Shāh was that he was a Shia, but Shāh 'Alam shared his belief in the twelve Imams.[3]

[1] Elphinstone, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] Rocco, Sha, *op. cit.*, p. 35 ff.

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THE ITHNA 'ASHARIYA COME TO INDIA—II

Hoey notes that he " had turned Shia " and had an understanding with Abū al Ḥasan. Correspondence between them was intercepted and shown to Aurungzeb, who imprisoned the Prince and his four sons, for seven or nine years. During the period of confinement, Azim Shāh took the place of Shāh 'Alam on the right of his father " on Ids and Fridays and in public ceremonies." After the period of imprisonment, Shāh 'Alam was again given his place on the right hand and this gave offence to Azim.[1]

Another son of Aurungzeb, his fourth son, Prince Akbar, led a revolt against his father, and ultimately sought refuge in Persia. On his journey thither his ship touched on an island belonging to the Imam of Muscat, who affected hospitality but sent a message offering to give him up to Aurungzeb on the payment of a sum of two lakhs of rupees and for a promise that goods carried in the ships of Muscat would be exempted from the payment of duty in the port of Surat. Before that deal could be completed the Shāh of Persia heard of the situation and ordered Prince Akbar to be sent to him at once or an army would be sent against the Imam of Muscat. The Shāh treated Akbar with the finest hospitality and attention, but did not give him an army with which to defeat his father. Akbar died in Persia in 1706. There are two reasons, we read

> for supposing that his end was a happy one. In the first place the king remarked that Prince Akbar had always performed his Friday prayers most devoutly ; and secondly, his mortal remains lie in the area of the tomb of Imam Riza.[2]

Shiite influence persisted through the activities of the Persian Shahs. We have already suggested that Akbar's interest in a new religion may have had some connection with the necessity for him to improve his position over against that of Persia. In the reign of Jahāngīr, Persian interest in the Deccani kingdoms increased. On the death of Akbar, Shāh 'Abbās sent an embassy of condolence as also congratulations to his " brother Jahangir."[3] From his side, Jahāngīr sent the most splendid mission of the Mughal period to the court of the Shāh. His ambassador was Khān 'Alam and he was received by the Shāh with extreme friendliness, for, said he :

> as between me and the exalted king a strong relationship of brother exists, and as His Majesty has called you brother, it is natural that my brother's brother is also my brother.

[1] Faizbaksh, Tarikh Farah Baksh, Tr. by Hoey, Memoirs I, p. 143 ff.
[2] Khafi Khan, Muntakhabu'l Lubab, II, pp. 275/284; E & D, VII, pp. 308/313.
[3] Abdur Rahim, *op. cit.*, Is. Cul, VIII, pp. 653/662.

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Feasts, banquets and hunts were held in his honour. He remained at the Persian court until 1619. It was during this time that the Shāh was receiving embassies from Bijapur, Ahmadnagar and Golconda, and also sending his representatives to those states. *'Alam Khān must, therefore, have known of their friendly relations. Doubtless Jahāngīr also knew that the Shāh was interested* in the continued independence of these States. With Shia-Sunni relations what they were, one is surprised at the extreme friendship between the Shāh and Jahāngīr's envoy, unless he too, was a Shia, for we read that when he left Persia the Shāh accompanied him some distance before " clasping him in the final embrace of honour," and that

> even when relations between Jahangir and 'Abbas became strained, the Shah used to write very affectionate letters to the Khan.

Dr. Abdur Rahim is of the opinion that the only way in which the Shāh could help the kingdoms in the Deccan was by creating a diversion on the north-west frontier, and this he did by attacks on Kandahar which he now seized, and against the ruler of Kachh and Makran who paid tribute to Jahāngīr. The envoy of Niẓām Shāh was with the Shāh during the siege of Kandahar, which was begun only when the best troops had been sent to the Deccan. After its capture, the Shāh had the temerity to write to Jahāngīr in a tone exceedingly modern, disclaiming any desire for conquest, and adding, " It occurred to me that I would go to Kandahar to see it and hunt," and assured Jahāngīr that he would " regard Kandahar as a gift from his brother."

In 1635 when Shah Jahan invaded the Deccan, he found the name of the Persian Shāh being read in the *khuṭba* at Golconda. He not only levied tribute on the State, but insisted on this practice being discontinued. More he was not then able to do.[1]

Aurungzeb wished to avoid entanglement in Central Asia politics, though he would like to have had Kandahar. Most of all, he wished to destroy completely the Shiite States in the Deccan. But, while Persia was strong, he was unable to tackle this " anti Mughal balance of power." He found his chance near the end of his reign (1687), but he

> hardly realized that this task had drained the life blood of the Mughal Empire, which was reduced to exhaustion from which it could never recover.[2]

[1] Elphinstone, *op. cit.*, p. 583 n.
[2] Abdur Rahim, *op. cit.*, Is. Cul. XI 1937, pp. 196/197.

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THE ITHNA 'ASHARIYA COME TO INDIA—II

The Bārah Sayyids

The Bārah Sayyids, or Bārah Sādāt, dominated the remaining period of the dynasty. They were a Shiite family whom we met first during Akbar's reign when he was engaged in the siege of Surat. A combination of opposing Mirzas laid seige to Patan (Gujarat) in the hope that they would draw Akbar away from Surat. Akbar's commander at Patan was Sayyid Aḥmad Khān Bārah. He held the insurgents until Akbar could send relief and, after their defeat, he was confirmed in the post of commander of that fortress.[1]

Sayyid Aḥmad Khān came of a family which had been established in India for several centuries. They claimed descent from Sayyid 'Abdul Farsh Wasiti who came to India in A.H. 391 with Sulṭān Maḥmūd Ghaznavi.[2] His sons first settled in Sirhind and gradually extended their influence over Delhi, Meerut and the Doab. By 1350 their headquarters were at Muzaffarnagar. They enjoyed the patronage of the Sayyid dynasty (1414–1450). Sulṭān Khiḍr Khān, who claimed to represent Tamerlane, conferred the control of Saharanpur on Sayyid Salīm, then chief of their fraternity.[3] Several branches of the family developed and under Akbar they became leading landowners in the Province. Repeatedly, leading members of the family demonstrated their bravery in conflict.

It was Akbar's desire that his son Khusrū should succeed him rather than Jahāngīr, (Salīm).[4] Sayyid Khān, then one of the great nobles of the realm, with his Sayyids, supported Salīm, who then presented himself in Akbar's presence and was invested with the turban and robes of the Emperor. When, later, Khusrū rebelled, his defeat was largely brought about by the leadership of the same Sayyid group. The influence of the family increased with the years. Whenever we find them mentioned their bravery is a tradition. At the close of the reign of Aurungzeb, two brothers came to have almost complete control of the government: Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān and Sayyid Ḥusain 'Ali Khān. It was with their aid that Bahādur Shah I, (or 'Alam Shah I) (1707–1712), established his claim to the throne; by them also, that Farokhsīr was enthroned as a figure-head while they ruled

[1] Ferishta, *op. cit.*, pp. 235/237; E & D, V, p. 353.
[2] CIR 1911, Punjab XVII, p. 151; IGI 1908, XIII, p. 51.
[3] IGI 1908, XVIII, p. 85.
[4] Asad Beg Wikayat, E & D, VI, p. 170.

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(1713–1719).[1] In time, Farokhsīr was put out of the way and two puppet kings set up in succession ; finally, Muḥammad Shāh became king.

The Sayyids, though coming from outside of India, had been in India so long that they prided themselves on being Indians,[2] and as such they were out of sympathy with the Mughal rulers. Their Shiite beliefs further estranged them from their rulers. They resented deeply Aurungzeb's reactionary policy such as the imposition of the *jizya*. This measure provoked the Hindus and tended to unite the Hindus and the Sayyids. Sayyid Ḥusain had also effected an agreement with the Mahrattas which virtually put him against the Mughals. Opposition to the brothers, at first suppressed, soon broke out in violence.

> That the crushed worm should have turned and under the auspices of Indian Shi'a leadership, should turn the tables on their former masters, reduce the great Moghul to a puppet, and the proud nobles of his race to political inanity, and monopolize power, patronage and wealth, was an unspeakable degradation and cause of offence to those trained in the school of Aurungzeb.[3]
>
> The great and the small of all classes were disgusted with the arrogance of the two brothers, and by the fact of the general control of civil and revenue affairs being under the direction of Ratan Chand. For excepting men of Barha and the shop-keeping class, no one found any favour. The nobility of every province carried on their own existence in disgrace and distrust.[4]

The opposition to the Sayyids was led by Nizam ul Mulk (Asaf Jah) Viceroy of the Deccan and leader of the Turkoman party. He had been appointed to his position by the Sayyids " in acknowledgement of his at least passive co-operation with them in the deposition of Jahandar Shah, and in the exaltation of Farokhsir."[5] With him in opposition was Sa'adat Khān, a Persian, who was head of the Iran party. Sayyid Ḥusain 'Ali Khān was assassinated in 1720. But after this, Sayyid 'Abdullāh was able to set up another puppet king in opposition to Muḥammad Shāh. A few months later 'Abdullāh was defeated in battle, captured and held a prisoner for life.

Until 1737, in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, the family of the Bārah Sayyids continued strong. They were defeated then by a

IGI, 1908, XVIII, p. 85.
Owen, S. J., The Fall of the Mogul Empire, pp. 139/145.
Ibid., pp. 159/160.
Khafi Khan, II, p. 897, E & D, VII, p. 502.
Owen, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

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strong miltary force and large numbers of them were killed in what has been called the Massacre of the Sayyids, at Jansath, in the Muzaffarnagar district, known as the home of this historic family, which was sacked and destroyed by a Rohilla force.[1] Representatives of the family still live at Jansath.

Influences of Shiism

There can be no doubt but that the Sayyids were in politics for what they could get out of it, rather than to promote Shiism. But Shias and Shiism gained from their influence. Aurungzeb was a fanatical Sunni, and although a majority of his officials were Shias they did not vaunt their Shiism because of his known fanaticism. Bahādur Shāh I, a Shia, led by the Sayyids, abolished the *jizya* or poll tax, and issued an order for the use of the Shiite formula in the *adhān* and the *khuṭba* throughout the empire. Strong opposition to the term *waṣi* (executor) developed in Lahore, Agra and other centres. Some leaders of the opposition were sentenced to life-imprisonment in the fort at Gwalior. In Ahmadabad the *Khāṭib* was warned the first time not to read this form the next week. But in obedience to his superiors he read the same form the next Friday.

> The moment the word *wasi* fell from his tongue, a Punjabi rose, seized him by his shirt, dragged him from the top of the pulpit, and treated him with harsh scorn. A Turani Mughal jumped up, drew his knife, stuck it into the stomach of the *khatib* and threw him down under the pulpit.

He was later dragged into the forecourt " and there he received so many stabs from daggers and blows from slippers that he died ignominiously."[2]

So widespread was the opposition to the king's order, that he reconsidered. After days of debate,

> at the end of Shawwal, the Sadr presented a petition on the subject of the *khutba* and on this His Majesty wrote with his own hand that the *khutba* should be read in the form used during the reign of Aurungzeb.

During the short and troubled reign of Faroksīr, there was a violent affray between the Shias and the Sunnis at Delhi.[3] The nephew of Sa'adat Khān, Safdar Jung, became the *wazīr* under Aḥmad Shāh, during whose reign there was another very bitter clash between Shias and Sunnis in Delhi.[4] Nādir Shāh invaded

[1] IGI, 1908, XIV, p. 82.
[2] Khafi Khan, *op. cit.*, pp. 420/422, 427/428.
[3] Elphinstone, *op. cit.*, p. 690. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 694.

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India in 1738 and after sacking Delhi returned to Persia. A second invasion from Persia was made in the reign of 'Alamgir II (1754–1760). The Mahrattas captured Delhi in the battle of Panipat in 1760, which marked the virtual close of the Mughal Empire with the breakdown of its extensive territory into separate states. The influence of Shiism continued among 'the Mughals' even until 1853, when Bahādur Shāh II secretly declared his allegiance to Persia and himself as a Shia.[1]

Outside of these eddies that swirled around the court circles and royal decisions, there were many other incidents illustrating Shiite penetration during this period. Only two examples are chosen. First, not all the influx of the Shias reached the court. There were numerous families that settled down in quiet life. Such, for instance, was the family of Sayyid 'Ali al Hairi Mujtahid Shian of Lahore. He belongs to an ancient family of Sayyids, tracing its descent to Imām Mūsā, one of whose descendants left Qum and moved to Kashmir. Their descendants have scattered in the Punjab and United Provinces. Sayyid 'Ali al Hairi's ancestors settled in Lahore about the time that a *qizilbāsh* family arrived in India from Afghanistan, which also settled in the Punjab. Through the spiritual relations which sprang up between the two families, the *qizilbāsh* family of the Nawabs, and many others have received religious profit and spiritual gain to the mutual advantage of all concerned.[2]

A second illustration is that of Sayyid Nūr Allāh ibn Sharīf al Ḥusain al Mar'ashī Shustarī, who had been born in the year 1549 and had lived at Shustar in Persia, from where he migrated to India about 1587. He was a Shia, with a reputation as a devout, pious, just and learned man. He held the office of *Qāḍī al Quḍāt* in Lahore by appointment of Akbar. He accepted on condition that he could render his decisions according to any of the four recognized legal systems of the Sunnis. With this freedom, he continued to give his fatwas in accordance with Imāmiya teaching. He was the author of many works, among them the *Majālis-al-Mu'minīn* in 1604. Sunni *'ulamā*, who had suspected his orthodoxy, used this work as evidence of heterodoxy and he was condemned and flogged to death by order of Jahāngīr. He is known to Shias as *al Shahīd al Thalith*, The Third Martyr. His tomb is in Agra and is a place of pilgrimage for Shias from all parts of India.[3]

[1] Titus, *op. cit.*, p. 88.
[2] A Brief History with Credentials.
[3] EI, Shahid Thalith; Mirza Muhammad Hadi Maulvi, Shahid Thalith, (in Urdu).

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CHAPTER IX

THE ITHNA 'ASHARIYA COME TO INDIA III

Kashmir

ROUGHLY three-fourths of the population of Kashmir is recorded as Muslim, which in most parts of the State is composed chiefly of local converts. The census returns show that almost every Hindu caste name is still retained, although they are now nothing more than family titles without caste meaning.[1] Regarding the conversion of the population, Arnold writes that

> all the evidence leads us to attribute it on the whole to a long-continued missionary movement inaugurated and carried on mainly by faqirs, and dervishes, among whom were Isma'ilian preachers sent from Alamut.[2]

It is not possible to trace here in any full way the history of this movement by which a Hindu-Buddhist population became predominantly Islamic, but certain trends can be indicated. The Rajput Raja of Kishtwār owed his conversion to Sayyid Shāh Farīd al dīn, and a majority of his subjects followed him.[2] A similar process may well have been repeated in other districts, especially where Persian influence and language prevailed in the homes of rulers. In the Ladākh district, conversion began from Baltistān where Ismailism is strong. The Rajputs and the Jats of Chibhal would seem to have accepted Islam en masse because of the intimate relations that existed between them and the Mughal emperors of Delhi.[3]

The earliest date given for the introduction of Islam into the State is A.D. 1128.[4] It is not easy, however, to date the first entrance of Shiism. Walter says that the sect was introduced in 1486 " by a missionary named Mīr Shams 'Arāqi,"[5] also known as Shams al dīn.

Until the early part of the fourteenth century, the rulers of Kashmir had been Hindus. Then a Tibetan named Rainchan, or Ratan Shāh, overthrew and slew Sinha Deva, and assumed the

[1] CIR 1911, XX, pp. 103, 203.
[2] Arnold, T. W., Preaching of Islam, p. 241.
[3] CIR 1911, XX, pp. 94/95.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] Walter, H. A., Islam in Kashmir, Mos. W., IV, p. 348 (1914).

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powers of government as the first Muslim ruler.[1] About this time there came into Kashmir, from Persia,[2] a prince disguised as a merchant's son, named Shāh Mīr, "who claimed descent from 'Ali." His grandfather had predicted that some day he would be king of Kashmir. He was given a village near Baramulla for his residence. In 723/1323 he was made a minister of the king, and in 1346 himself became king as Shāh Mirza Shams al dīn, the first in the Salatin dynasty that ruled until 1561.[3]

Ferishta gives a striking pedigree for Shāh Mīr :

> Shah Meer, the son of Tahir, the son of All, the son of Khoorshasp, the son of Neekodur, a descendant from Arjoon, an infidel.[4]

The data is insufficient for final conclusions, but its suggestions are intriguing. Shāh Mīr's method of building himself into the community and the throne is reminiscent of the methods of Ismā'īlī dais ; as the pedigree traced to Arjun is in keeping with their methods of being all things to all men, even to grafting their teaching on to Hindu mythology, through descent from Arjun. The claim to descent from 'Ali is distinctly Shiite ; while the statement made by Ferishta that he established the Hanafī doctrines throughout his kingdom does not prove connections with the Sunnis so much as it denotes the prudence of one who knew his was a minority group.

The kings of the Salāṭin dynasty were :[5]

Mirza Shams al dīn	747/1346	Fatḥ Shāh	903/1498
Jamshīd ..	750/1349	Muḥammad Shāh†	904/1499
'Ali Sher, 'Alā al dīn	751/1350	Ibrāhīm Shah I ..	932/1526
Shihāb al dīn ..	761/1359	Nazuk Shāh ..	933/1527
Hindal, Quṭb al dīn	780/1378	Muḥammad Shāh†	935/1529
Sikandar Butshikan	796/1393	Shams al dīn II	941/1534
'Ali Shāh ..	819/1416	Nazuk Shāh*	946/1540
Zain al 'Abidīn	822/1420	Mirza Ḥaidar (usurper)	947/1541
Ḥaidar Shāh ..	874/1470	Nazuk Shāh†	957/1551
Ḥasan Shāh ..	876/1472	Ibrāhīm Shāh II	958/1552
Muhammad Shāh	895/1489	Ismā'īl Shāh	962/1555
Fatḥ Shāh ..	895/1489	Ḥabīb Shāh	964/1557
Muḥammad Shāh*	903/1497		

*Restored †Again restored

[1] Cam. Hist. of India, p. 277.
[2] IGI, II, p. 373.
[3] Newell, D. J. F., Sketches of the Mahomedan History of Cashmere, JASB, XXIII, No. 5 (1854), pp. 114 ff.
[4] Ferishta, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 451/452.
[5] The dates of the Christian era are from Cam. Hist. of India, III, p. 698. and refer to the year of accession.

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THE ITHNA 'ASHARIYA COME TO INDIA—III

According to Ferishta the next four kings after Shams al dīn were all his sons.

> Jamshid, aided by many of the nobles, ascended the throne, but shortly afterwards the soldiery being attached to his younger brother, Ally Sheer, induced him to proclaim himself at the town of Maduypur.[1]

It was during the reign of the fourth king, Hindal Quṭb al dīn, that there occurred " two immigrations of fugitive Syuds which fixed the religion of the country." The first of these was under Sayyid 'Ali Ḥamdāni, who with seven hundred Sayyids reached Kashmir in 1380. Sayyid 'Ali, as his surname indicates, came from Ḥamadān in Persia, a stronghold of Shiism. He stayed six years and died at Pakli while returning to Persia. His son, Mīr Muḥammad Ḥamdāni, brought with him three hundred Sayyids. He remained twelve years.[2] They are said to have incurred the wrath of Tīmūr in some way and hence the exodus from their homeland.

> They established shrines all over the country. . . . they originated the sect of ' Rishis ' or hermits, which are described by Abu'l Fazl as a very respectable and inoffensive order, in his time some two thousand in number, living upon fruits and berries, and abstaining from sexual intercourse. . . . Mahomed Azim names many worthies of the sect.[3]

It would be interesting to know just which ' sect ' this was. Aḥmad 'Ali Rizvī describes Sayyid 'Ali Ḥamdāni as a " distinguished and celebrated Sufi and belonged to the Shafai school."[4] He is not mentioned by Subḥān. Although Tīmūr is said to have been sympathetic with Shias, his record does not lead us to think that this interest was strong enough to have driven ardent Sunnis as religious fugitives to a foreign country. Nor would courtiers and representatives of the Mughal emperors in Delhi have destroyed their hermitages throughout the country as we read they did, had they been orthodox Sunnis, or even Sunni Sufis. A few years ago the Shiite School of Theology in Lucknow published a book *Al Muwaddatu'l Qurba* " compiled by the celebrated saint and scholar Syed Ali Ḥamdāni and trust that its perusal will promote the love of Ahlul Bait " in the hearts of its readers. The presumption seems to be justified that these immigrant Sayyids were Shias, either of the Ismā'īlī or the Imāmī branches.

[1] Ferishta, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 451/452
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 464/469; Or. Biog. Dict., pp. 355/356; Newell, *op. cit.*, JASB, XXIII, p. 114.
[3] Newell, *op. cit.*
[4] Rizvi, A. A., Al Muwaddatu'l Qurba.

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By the reign of Sikandar, the capital had become famous as a centre of culture and many learned doctors from distant points were attracted by its splendour. It was Sikandar who added to his kingdom Little Tibet, while he was suppressing a rebellion led by a former prime minister. Concerning this section of the kingdom, Ferishta says that the King of Little Tibet was so "prejudiced in favour of the Sheeas that *he allows* no man of any other faith to enter the towns."[1] Ferishta was writing nearly two hundred years after the time of Sikandar, and of his time he speaks concerning the situation in Little Tibet in the present tense.

Not only in Little Tibet, but elsewhere, the reign of Sikandar was marked by increased proselytism, the result, presumably, of the immigrations of the previous reign. Perhaps also due to these, or to other influential persons who were attracted to the Court, Sikandar's reign is known for its persecution, reminiscent of the days of Maḥmūd of Ghazni, and Sikandar is known as the *Butshikan*, or iconoclast.

> His enthusiasm was kept alive by his minister Sinha Bhatt, a converted Brahman, with all a convert's zeal for his new faith, who saw to it that his master's hostility extended to idolaters as well as to idols.—Hindus of Kashmir were offered the choice between Islam and exile. Of the numerous Brahmans, some chose the latter, but many committed suicide rather than forsake either their faith or their homes. Others, less steadfast, accepted Islam.—The fierce intolerance of Sikandar had left in Kashmir no more than eleven families of Brahmans practising the ceremonies of their faith.[2]

It was at this time that Tīmūr made his invasion into India, and Ferishta tells us that Sikandar offered to co-operate with him. So completely were Hindu temples destroyed that some think that the destruction could only have been accomplished by gunpowder, which secret Sikandar is thought to have received from Tīmūr.

The notorious Sinha Bhat died during the short time that 'Ali Shāh was on the throne. The king resolved on a pilgrimage to Mecca and left the government with his brother. Later, 'Ali changed his mind and wished to return to his throne, but the brother defeated him and continued to rule as Zain al 'Abidīn, a name much used by Shias. He ruled for fifty years and the period is looked back upon as the golden era in Kashmir's history. It is a strange circumstance that the son of an iconoclast, so hated,

[1] Ferishta, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 450, 464. (Italics mine.)
[2] Cam. Hist. of India, pp. 280/281.

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should become the beloved ruler, but such a circumstance restores faith in mankind. Zain al 'Abidīn was a scholar, a musician and a patron of poetry. He carried on a correspondence, among others, with Abū Sa'id Gorgan of Khorasan and Transoxiana, as did Maḥmūd Gāwān, his contemporary. His court continued to draw learned men from afar. Tolerance and strong administration marked this period. He recalled the exiled Hindus and many who had pretended conversion now returned to their old faith.

During this reign we first meet with a rising power, the Chak clan. They are said to have come from Dardistan.[1] Later we know them as Shias, but at this time we cannot be sure. In what numbers they entered the country, we have no way of knowing, but they were a powerful and turbulent tribe in the time of Zain al 'Abidīn, who had to expel them from the realm.[2] The name of Shams al dīn, the Ismā'īlī missionary, is connected with the conversion of the Chaks. But sixty years before his time Ṣadr al dīn had been appointed as the head of the Ismailis of Sind, Punjab and Kashmir,[3] and it is not improbable that at the time of their incursion during this reign that they had already come under the influence of the Ismā'īlī propaganda, and it may also be that they were expelled because of their activity in causing factions, both political and religious.

In the reign of Ḥasan Shāh there are traces of Shiite influence in the ' Sayyid ' party. Of this king we read that his wife was a ' sayyid,' and that after the death of Mālik Aḥmad who had been instrumental in placing him upon the throne, Ḥasan selected his father-in-law as his minister. " The Sayyids became for a time all powerful in the State." When Hasan died, it was

> the Sayyid faction (that) raised to the throne his elder son, Muhammad, in whose name they ruled the kingdom, but their arrogance so exasperated the other nobles that they chose as their candidate for the throne, Fath Khan, the son of Hasan's uncle, and suceeded, before the child Muhammad had occupied the throne for a year, in establishing Fath Shah.[4]

This Sayyid party had risen to sufficient influence before 1480 to marry into the royal family, and by 1489 was a rival political group.

It was during the reign of Fatḥ Shāh, about 1496, that Shams al dīn arrived in Kashmir, and with him the Chaks are back.

[1] EI, Kashmir.
[2] Cam. Hist. of India, p. 284 ff.
[3] Bom. Gaz., IX, Pt. 2, p. 40.
[4] Cam. Hist. of India, p. 285.

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Originally they are said to have been sun-worshippers and known as Raushanias.[1] It seems that by now they have accepted the Ismā'īlī faith. Fatḥ Shāh made over to Shams al dīn

> all the confiscated lands which had lately fallen to the crown, and his disciples went forth destroying the temples of the idolaters, in which they met with the support of government so that no one dared to oppose them. In a short time many of the Kashmiris, particularly those of the tribe of Chuk became converts to the Noorbuksh tenets.[2]

Religious disputes among the nobles reached such a point that they went so far as to kill each other with their swords in the presence of the king in the audience hall.

Very soon after the coming of Shams al dīn, Muḥammad Shāh was restored to the throne for a second time. It was probably during this, his third reign, that he raised a number of Chaks to high office in the government, the first ruler to have done this. In this way, it would seem that he either sought to strengthen the 'sayyid' faction, or to set it aside, and to trust to Chak support against Fatḥ Shāh and "the other nobles." How bitter this sectarian strife, now growing steadily, must have been, is vividly suggested in the chronology of the dynasty, when in just over sixty years, 1489–1551, Muḥammad Shāh was enthroned four times, Fatḥ Shāh thrice, and for a period of ten years a Mughal usurper was on the throne. Conflict continued for ten years longer, with Chak, that is Shiite power increasing, until in 1561 the Chak dynasty was established by Ghāzi Chak. They ruled until 1589 when Akbar compelled their submission. Unlike the dynasty they succeeded, which had the title of Sultans, the Chak rulers took the title of *Badshah*, as shown by their coins. The last ruler was settled by Akbar in Bihar, and he and his brother were made nobles and given estates in that province.

Ferishta, writing during the early part of the seventeenth century, gives this opinion concerning the Muslims of Kashmir :

> having been at pains to ascertain what religion the inhabitants of Kashmir now profess, has reason to think that the common people are Mahomedans of the Hanafy persuasion, though the *soldiery are common Sheeas*, as well as some few of the learned men.[3]

The author of *Wāḳi'āt-i-Jahāngīrī* also tells us that the sovereignty of Kashmir ultimately fell into the hands of the Chaks,

[1] Bom. Gaz., IX, Pt. 2, p. 29.
[2] Ferishta, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 486/487.
[3] *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 449/450. (Italics mine.)

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" who were *formerly common soldiers.*"[1] The expressions used by these two writers are most interesting, and suggestive. "*The soldiery are common Sheeas*" and the Chaks whom we know to have been Shias "*were formerly soldiers.*" Both writers describe a period of party strife in which sectarian affiliations have been of prime importance in making and unmaking kings. The author of *Wāḳiāt* says " formerly " without indicating how long a period is meant; while Ferishta, in a passage quoted, used the same term "soldiery" to denote one party in a contest that developed soon after the death of the first king in 1346. He does not say there that the " soldiery " then were Shias, but we might hazard the guess that such was true in view of the indications that Shiism had a strong footing at least in the time of Hindal Quṭb al dīn, one of his sons, who ruled less than forty years later. Ferishta also says that 'Ali Sher became " sole king " on the death of Jamshīd, showing that for a period there was a dual monarchy, which can only mean that neither party could overthrow the other while Jamshīd lived. A further conjecture might be hazarded, namely, that the village " Meduypur " is the village near Baramulla which was given to Shāh Mīr, which became the first centre of a ' Sayyid ' party.

We must return now to the Nurbakshis as the followers of Shams al dīn came to be called, after Sayyid Muḥammad Nūrbaksh, the father of Shāh Qāsim Anwar whose disciple Shams al dīn was. The tenets of this sect were set forth in a work called the *Ahwatah* which means " most comprehensive," and which is attributed to their leader who had the power of working miracles. The tenets

> are described as a mass of infidelity and heresy, conforming neither to the Sunni nor to the Shiah creed. He insisted on the duty of cursing the first three Caliphs and the Prophet's wife, 'Ayisha, a distinctly Shiah practice which strikes at the root of Sunni orthodoxy and accentuates the chief difference between the sects. He differed from the Shiahs in regarding Sayyid Muhammad Nur Baksh as the promised Mahdi, who was to appear in the last days and establish Islam throughout the world, and taught much else which was irreconcilable with the doctrines of any known sect of Islam.[2]

It was in 1541 that the Mughal, Mirza Ḥaider, conquered Kashmir and for a brief time ruled the country. He sent a copy of the *Ahwatah* to the doctors of the Sunni school to secure their judgment with regard to its orthodoxy. They pronounced it

[1] Waki'at i Jahangiri, E & D, VI, p. 507. (Italics mine.)
[2] Cam. Hist. of India, III, 286.

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heretical, and the Mughal set about the task of exterminating the followers of the sect. He writes :

> Many of the people of Kashmir who were strongly attached to this apostasy, I brought back, whether they would or no, to the true faith, and many I slew. A number took refuge in Sufism, but are no true Sufis, having nothing but the name. Such are a handful of dualists, in league with a handful of atheists to lead men astray, with no regard to what is lawful and what is unlawful, placing piety and purity in night watches and abstinence from food, but eating and taking without discrimination what they find ; gluttonous and avaricious, pretending to interpret dreams, to work miracles, and to predict the future.[1]

We know that Mirza Ḥaidar did not exterminate the sect. It was able to assist in the overthrow of the usurper in ten years and within another ten to establish the "Chak dynasty." Ferishta says that the "holy men of the Mahomedan faith succeeded in putting down these sectarians," but Ferishta had difficulties in getting his information as this passage shows :

> The tribe of Chuk in Kashmeer, contends that Meer Shamsood-deen of Iraq was a Sheea, and that he converted many thousands of people, after which he was crowned in the name of the twelve Imams ; and that the Ahowata, the book containing the tenets of the Noorbaksh religion, is not the composition of that venerable personage, but the production of some ignorant infidel. God only knows on whom we are able to depend.[2]

In all probability the Nūrbakshis either merged themselves in the less heretical group of the Twelvers, or practising dissimulation, concealed their identity. By their name of Nūrbakshi they ceased to be troublesome.

This we know, that through the years Kashmir has continued to be the scene of violent Shia-Sunni clashes. One of these came in 1568, which provoked friction with Akbar, in connection with which Ferishta says the initial attack was due only to the animosity which existed between the two groups.[3] There was another clash in 1585, during the reign of Ya'qūb Shāh Chak, who compelled Sunnis to call aloud the Shiite confession of faith and gave to Akbar his opportunity to intervene and to suppress the Chak dynasty, adding Kashmir to his empire in 1589.[4] Still

[1] *Ibid.*
[2] Ferishta, *op. cit.*, IV, 449/450.
[3] Cam. Hist. of India, III, 291 ; Ferishta, *op. cit.*, 517/520.
[4] Newell, *op. cit.*, JASB, XXIII, 430.

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another clash came in 1684, which is described as " probably the worst fight between the Shias and Sunnis "[1] in the time of Aurungzeb. There was another outbreak in 1719 :

> The next day the Muslims went again to the Charbeli quarter to exact retaliation for blood. This quarter was inhabited by Shias. There they began to bind, to kill, and to burn. . . . For two days the fight was kept up, but the assilants then prevailed. Two or three thousand people who were in that quarter, including a large number of Moghal travellers, were killed with their wives and families. Property to the value of lacs was plundered and the war raged for two or three days.[2]

The way in which religious zeal had frequently to be mingled with political astuteness is illustrated in this story of the reign of 'Ali Shāh Chak, taken from Ferishta :

> At this time Shah Arif, a dervish of the Sheea persuasion and who claimed relationship to Shah Tahmasp of Persia, arrived in Kashmeer from Lahore, where he had for some time lived under the protection of Hoosein Kooly Khan, Governor of the Punjab. Ally, who was himself a Sheea, was so pleased with this stranger, that he gave him his daughter in marriage ; (and two of his nobles) absolutely worshipped this holy personage, and declared him to be the Imam Mehdy who is to appear again in the last days. This infatuation carried them so far that they resolved to dethrone Ally, and to raise Shah Arif to the government. The moment the king heard of this he took measures to persecute the dervish.[3]

who had claimed that he could transport himself to Lahore in a day, and disappeared after bribing a ferryman to transport him across a river. He was then caught, but escaped and was caught again, and fined one thousand *ashrafi*. The king's daughter was taken away from him and he was compelled to quit the kingdom. Soon after, the king's minister came under suspicion as an accomplice in the plot, and he fled to the same governor who had sheltered Shah Arif.

After annexation, the Mughals maintained supremacy in Kashmir from 1586 to 1751 ; an Afghan dynasty from 1751 to 1818 ; Sikhs from 1819 to 1845 and the present Dogra dynasty has been in control since 1846. Gulab Singh, the founder of the present dynasty had been the Raja of Jammu from 1820.[4] The

[1] Sarkar, J., History of Aurungzeb, V 421.
[2] *Ibid.*, 416/417.
[3] Ferishta, *op. cit.*, IV, 521/523.
[4] CIR, Kashmir, 1911, XX, pp. 4/5.

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last king of the Chak dynasty was settled in Bihar and received a fief and the command of five hundred horse.

These sketches depicting the penetration of Shiism into Kashmir have shown much of conflict and strife, as well as much of missionary effort through five hundred years. We can be sure that contemporaneous with the strife, and throughout long periods when strife was subdued, there were Muslims, both Sunnis and Shias, active in the constructive and refined contributions that have characterized both groups in many places. We may name, for example, Moḥsin Fāni,[1] author of *Dābistān al Madhāhib*. Of Iranian extraction, he spent most of his life in India. Sir William Jones considered him to be a native of Kashmir. He is said to have been "a scholar of Mullā Ya'qūb, a Sufi of Kashmir," whose place of retirement was visited by important men of state. He was born between 1615 and 1623. In 1643 he visited Mashad. In his work he has described the religions of the time of the Mughal rulers and claimed to get his information from the books of the sects or direct from their adherents.

Elsewhere we have referred to Allāma Syed 'Ali al Hairi. The first member of this renowned family to come to India was Agha Sayyid Ḥusain Rizvī al Qummī I, who came from Qum in Iran, and settled in Kashmir. He died and was buried in Ahmadpura, Kashmir.[2] His *mazār*, or shrine, has brought fame to that little town which had been his home. Through his descendants who have scattered in the Punjab and the United Provinces, this family has made a worthy name for itself in Indian Shiism ; one of many families from Kashmir to which like tribute might be paid.

[1] Dabistan, Tr. by Shea, D., and Troyer, A., pp. ix/x, 2/5.
[2] A Brief History with Credentials.

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CHAPTER X

The Ithna 'Ashariya Come to India, IV

The Kingdom of Oudh

Soon after the Shiite kingdoms of the Deccan were subdued by Aurungzeb, another kingdom ruled by Shias came into power in the north, the Kingdom of Oudh, with its capital at Lucknow. Both because of the inherent interest it holds for Shiism, and because it is the link between the Mughal Empire and Indian Shiism of to-day, of which Lucknow is the recognized capital, it is fitting that our story of Shiism in India include a brief account of Shiism in Oudh.

Mīr Muḥammad Amīn Mūsawī, the founder of the kingdom of Oudh, was of a noble Sayyid family that traced its ancestry through the Imam Musa, and had attained a position of respect by long residence at Nishapur in Khorasan. His father had been in the employ of Bahādur Shāh, and after his death, the son came to India. He got his chance through the Barah Sayyids under Farokhsīr. For services rendered, he was early promoted. The cruel way in which the Sayyids deposed the Emperor and then placed two puppets on the throne in a short interval, led him to be active in their overthrow. Srivastava accuses him of disloyalty for the sake of his inordinate ambition.[1] After the assassination of Ḥusain 'Ali Khān he was given the title of Bahādur by Muḥammad Shāh, and in 1722 the governorship of Oudh. This had been a part of the empire since the time of Bābur. Soon he received the title of Burhān al Mulk. For the most part, Mīr Muḥammad, better known as Sa'adat Khān, lived at Ajodhia, but he had a fort in Lucknow known as the *Machi Bhāwan*, and when in Lucknow himself, he resided in a rented house. Something of his temper may be judged by this statement quoted by Hoey :

> About two hundred thousand sons and daughters and wives of Hindu Kafirs were raised by the might of his sword to enjoy

[1] Srivastava, A.L., The First Two Nawabs of Oudh, pp. 14/15.

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the blessings of Islam ; and a like number of unbelievers were slaughtered by his victorious soldiers.[1]

It is pleasing to note that Srivastava discredits this charge and considers that Sa'adat Khān was tolerant to, and a friend of, Hindus.

When in 1738 Nadir Shāh invaded India, Sa'adat 'Ali Khān was called on by Muhammad Shāh for help which he gave. He was wounded and captured by the Persians. He is charged with treachery towards his emperor by some[2], while other accounts indicate that it was he who suggested the proposals for peace which provided that the Emperor should visit the Shah and "present money," and later the Shah should become the guest of the Emperor at Shahjahanabad for two months. In the meantime Burhān al Mulk's troops returned to his Province, while he was invested with a state robe and admitted to private interviews with the Shah, and he became chief plenipotentiary for both rulers. During the visit to Shahjahanabad it was even ordered that all the officers of both monarchs should pass before him in review while he was seated under a canopy woven with pearls.[3] He died in 1739, whether from his wounds,[4] or from poison[5] administered by himself, is not sure.

Sa'adat 'Ali Khān adopted the fish as the emblem of his kingdom. The Order of the Fish is said to have been founded by Khusrū Parvīz, a king of Persia in the sixth century. In India it has been a symbol of sovereignty since the period of Tīmūr.[6] Wilson has made the suggestion that this symbol was adopted because the sign of the Pisces had been especially favourable to Sa'adat 'Ali Khan's house. But another story from an old inhabitant of Lucknow says that Sa'adat 'Ali Khān was saying his prayers on the banks of the Jumna with his hands held up before him, when a fish jumped out of the water right into his hands.[7] It was soon after this that he received the governorship of Oudh.

In the time of the Nawabs the head of a fish made of gold or silver, suspended from a pole decorated with a brocade, was a common feature in all Shiite homes in Lucknow.[8] Mrs. Meer

[1] Abu Talib, Tafzihu'l Ghafilin ; Trans. by W. Hoey, A History of Asafu'd Daula, I, App. p. 2 ff.
[2] Marshman, *op. cit.*, pp. 104/105.
[3] Abu Talib, *op. cit.*, pp. 3/12.
[4] Marshman, *op. cit.*, 105.
[5] Muhammad Aslam, Ferhatu'n Nazirin, E & D, VIII, 173/174.
[6] Sleeman, W. H., Rambles and Recollections, 135.
[7] Brown, C. J., The Coins of the Kings of Awadh, JASB, VIII, 250.
[8] Herklots, *op. cit.*, 160.

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THE ITHNA 'ASHARIYA COME TO INDIA—IV

Hassan Ali describes the striking effect obtained in the uniforms of carriers of the royal palanquin, where on the front of the turban a gold fish was placed diagonally, to the tail of which was attached a gold tassel reaching to the shoulder.[1] Present-day art in Lucknow uses the fish in its designs and in recognition of the important place that Oudh has had in the history of the Province, the fish as a symbol of the dynasty, has been included in the crest introduced recently by the Government of the United Provinces.

The names of the nawabs and kings of Oudh with the dates of their accession, are :

Sa'adat 'Ali Khān	1145/1732	Ghāzī al dīn	1229/1814
Safdar Jung	1152/1739	Naṣīr al dīn	1243/1827
Shujā' al Daula	1166/1753	Muḥammad 'Ali	1253/1837
Asaf al Daula	1188/1775	'Amjad 'Ali	1258/1842
Wazīr 'Ali	1212/1797	Wajid 'Ali	1264/1847
Sa'adat 'Ali	1213/1798		–1273/1856

Muḥammad Mukim, also known as Manṣūr 'Ali Khān, succeeded his uncle on the *masnad*, with the title of Safdar Jung. He was the first *Nawāb-Wazīr*, that is, Nawāb of Oudh and Wazīr, or Prime Minister, of the Emperor. In the reign of Aḥmad Shah (1748–1754) whom he had helped to place on the throne in Delhi, he received the further title of Mīr Atish, commander of artillery.[2] He was a pious Shia and observed the requirements of his religion with scrupulous care.[3]

For some time Safdar Jung gave his attention to his duties as *wazīr*, leaving Oudh to his deputy. Fyzabad was built as the capital of his kingdom, Lucknow having only secondary importance. While Safdar Jung was away from Delhi on his campaigns, a eunuch, Jawīd Khān, a favourite of the Emperor's mother, tried to secure supreme power for himself. This brought him in confiict with the *wazīr*, who arranged for him to be murdered. This led to further friction until the enemies of Safdar reported to the Emperor that it was the intention of the *wazīr* to place on the throne a younger brother of Muḥammad Shāh, Buland Akhtar, "who was of the same sect as himself, viz. a Shia."[4] The Emperor removed Safdar Jung from his office of *Mīr Atish* and he took leave from the *wizārat* to go to Oudh.

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 249.
[2] IGI 1908, II, pp. 409/412.
[3] Srivastava, *op .cit.*, 255.
[4] Abdu'l Karim Khan, Bayan i Waki, E & D, VIII, 133/135.

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It would appear that Safdar Jung did attempt to instal a rival ruler.[1] This effort led to conflict in which Shahjahanabad was invested for some weeks, while fighting continued in Delhi for six months and portions of the city were burned. The rival factions divided largely on Sunni-Shia lines, Safdar Jung being the recognized head of the Iranian or Shiite party.[2] So far as vital issues are concerned, the fighting would seem to have been inconclusive, for Safdar Jung returned to Oudh after having received a robe of investiture from the Emperor.[3]

Safdar Jung died in Fyzabad and was buried in a beautiful garden which he had laid out, called Gulab Bari because of the profusion of roses in it. His body was later removed to Delhi, where it was placed in a mausoleum near the tomb of Emperor Humāyūn. It has been described as one of the finest in India. For such disinterment to be made, it is believed by Muslims that the period for which first committal is made must be stated at the time of interment, in which case the earth will not allow the corpse to become corrupt during the period.[4]

Shujā' al Daula, the second *Nawāb-Wazīr*, was a son of Safdar Jung. Under Shāh 'Alam (Bahādur Shah I), he received back the office his father had lost. His possession of Oudh was also confirmed, and Ghāzipur and Benares were added in the year 1765. One of the distinctive marks in this period was the increase in relations with the East India Company and with Lord Hastings as Governor General. Shujā' al Daula assisted the British in the defeat of the Rohillas in 1774, and for a payment, Kaira and Allahabad were added to his domain.[5] In 1773 the first British Resident was appointed. The original treaty of Allahabad, dated August 16, 1765, written in Persian and English, and bearing signatures of Lord Clive, General Carnac and the seals of Shujā' al Daula is preserved in the room occupied by the Under Secretary of State.[6]

Shujā' al Daula continued as head of the Iranian party, and also played his part in Empire affairs. However, he spent more time in the capital at Fyzabad, which now had become a place of considerable importance.

Owing to the crowds of people inside the city it was difficult

[1] *Ibid.*, 135/139; Muhammad 'Ali Khan, Tarikh i Muzaffari, E & D, VIII 318/321.
[2] Keene, H. G., History of India, 156/162; Elphinstone, *op. cit.*, 735/738.
[3] Muhammad 'Ali Khan, *op. cit.*, E & D, VIII, 318/321.
[4] Hoey, W., Memoirs of Delhi and Faizabad, I, 233.
[5] Irwin, H. C., The Garden of India, p. 83.
[6] Birdwood, G., Report on the Old Records of the India office, p. 20.

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> to move along the road, especially in the Chauk bazaar. The variety of goods and commodities was innumerable. The merchants of Persia, Turan, China and Europe used to resort to this city with costly wares and reap a profit in various ways. Two hundred Frenchmen . . . were servants and friends of this Government and were employed in training the foot regiments and in founding cannon and manufacturing implements of war in the arsenal. As the Nawab Wazir was bent upon the prosperity and growth of this city, it seemed as if Fyzabad should soon rival Delhi. As there was no potentate in any country living in such splendid style as he, and as people here saw wealth, rank and lavish diffusion of money in every street and market, artisans and scholars flocked here from all parts of India.[1]

Shujā' al Daula's widow, known as Bahu Begam, built a mosque and an Imāmbārā near the Moti Bagh. Darab 'Ali Khān also " raised a new long, broad and lofty Imambara of brick " to replace an older wooden structure. The will of the Bahu Begam provided

> three lacs of rupees to build her tomb ; one lac for pious observances in her memory ; ten thousand rupees per annum for the maintenance of her tomb, Quran readers, sweepers, gardeners, watchmen, drum-beaters and others ; nine hundred rupees per mensem for the pay of guards to be maintained at her palace ; and ninety-six lacs of rupees and gold and silver plate, and jewels and clothes, woollen fabrics, *kam-khwabs*, silks and so on of undetermined value, the price being merely guessed at.[2]

The Bahu Begam was buried in a spot where she had been used to sit. Sacred dust from Kerbala which had long before been brought for the purpose was spread on the bottom of the grave, and on it she was laid to rest " and a thousand men sat all night long reading the sacred word till day dawned and the shadows fled."[3]

Nawāb Shujā' al Daula was buried in the Gulab Bari in Fyzabad. His tomb was built by Ḥasan Razā Khān, who secured funds from Asaf al Daula totalling seven lakhs of rupees. Of Shujā' al Daula, Sir Henry Lawrence has said that he was " an able, energetic and intelligent prince, and that he possessed at least the ordinary virtues of Eastern rulers."[4]

[1] Hoey, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 8/9.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 294/295.
[4] Irwin, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

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His son, Asaf al Daula, had been declared heir-apparent during his father's lifetime and immediately succeeded him to the governorship. For help that he rendered Shāh 'Alam, in liberating him from Zabīta Khān who had been quite oppressive, he was rewarded with the *wizārat* of the Empire. He moved the capital from Fyzabad to Lucknow, both because he conceived a dislike for the old capital and because he wished to be away from his grandmother who disapproved of much that he did.[1] As did his predecessor, so also Asaf al Daula entrusted much of the business of the kingdom to an agent, Sayyid Murtaḍa Khān, who was an old retainer in the family and who had immigrated to India. The Nawab conferred on him

> a magnificent robe, marking his appointment as *naib*, and gave him a fringed palankeen, and elephant, and a covered howdah of silver, and other tokens of distinction, such as the armorial bearings of the Fish and Scales, which are conferred by the imperial government on Haft-Hazaris only.[2]

Concerning this deputy, Abū Ṭālib says :

> It should be noted that from the time of Safdar Jung up to the present, the agents of the Nawab Wazir's family have always been men of low origin with the sole exception of Mukhtaru'd Daula, who was of noble extraction.[3]

Accounts agree that Asaf al Daula was not a strong ruler ; he was little more than a passive instrument in the hands of successive Governors General ;[4] and the decline of the kingdom is dated from him.[5] The Nawab was a lover of ease and a spendthrift, dependent on subordinates who were incompetent, self-seeking and shiftless.[6] In the effort to meet the demands for money which were made by Lord Hastings and his successors, the *ta'alluqdār* system was commenced. Asaf al Daula was known for his lavish spending. His " waste would support an army." Much was spent in carnivals, marriages and illuminations. His expenditure at a Muḥarram season is said to have been five or six lakhs of rupees. Heavy expenditure was also incurred on elephant stables and kennels.[7]

The Nawab was also noted for his munificence and building. Exceeding other buildings in its grandeur is the Bara, or large,

[1] Abu Talib, *op. cit.*, 10.
[2] Hoey, *op. cit.*, II, 15.
[3] Abu Talib, *op., cit*, pp. 1 /2.
[4] Irwin, *op. cit.*, 87.
[5] Crooke, W., The Northwestern Provinces of India, p. 114 ff.
[6] Hoey, *op. cit.*, II, 15.
[7] Abu Talib, *op. cit.*, p. 37 ff.

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Imambara. Other buildings still standing which belong to this time, are the Rumi Darwaza, Hasan Bagh, Bibiapur Kothi, Chinhat Kothi, and the Residency. The La Martiniere College was built by a French officer in his service.[1]

Concerning the Imāmbārā this statement is found in a book containing pictures illustrative of Lord and Lady Irwin's visit on February 5, 1930, which is kept at Husainabad Park :

> This grand building was erected in the year of the great *chalisa* famine of A.D. 1784 to give relief to the famine stricken people. It is said that many of the respectable inhabitants of the city were compelled by want to place themselves amongst the workmen and that to save their honour and keep them unknown, their names were told over and their wages paid at night. The building consists of a single hall of immense size and magnificence. Its dimensions are 167 feet long and 53½ feet broad. On the two sides are verandahs, 26½ feet and 27¼ feet wide and at each end an octagonal apartment 53 feet in diameter. This vast building is covered by vaults of a very simple form and simple construction being of a coarse concrete several feet in thickness, which stands without thrust or abutment and is apparently more durable than the most scientific Gothic vaulting. It is said to have cost a million (sterling) of money. The architects were invited to submit their plans to a competition. Asafu'd Daula only stipulated that the building should be no copy of any other work, and that it should surpass anything of the kind ever built in beauty and magnificence. The successful competitor was one Kifayatullah.

Each year Asaf al Daula spent four or five lakhs of rupees on the decorations of the Imāmbārā.

> Hundreds of tazias, big and small, are made of gold and silver, and the number of glass chandeliers, with or without glass shades, plain and coloured, and candelabra of gold and silver and glass, with drum-shaped and bell-shaped shades which are purchased, defies computation. The halls, large as they are, have their floors and ceilings filled with them, so that the caretakers can with difficulty perform their duty, and what room is there for the taziadars to come and go. So the public look on from a distance, sitting on the roofless terrace. With all this the Wazir was not satisfied. When Dr. Blane was going to England, he gave him an order for two glass tazias with chandeliers and shades and other appointments, one to be green and the other red. The price was fixed at a lakh of rupees. In 1211 A.H. one arrived, and the other was promised for the next year.[2]

[1] Irwin, *op. cit.*, p. 98 ff.
[2] Abu Talib, *op. cit.*, pp. 93/94.

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The Imāmbārā, excluding the mosque on religious grounds, has been placed under the operation of the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act. This mosque is the only one in Lucknow "where the canonical Friday prayers for the Shia sect are recited."[1] The cost of the Muḥarram celebrations at this Imāmbārā are borne from the Ḥusainabad Endowment, since Asaf al Daula provided none for the purpose.

The amount annually spent on buildings by this ruler is given as ten lakhs of rupees from the beginning of his rule. If in the building of the Imāmbārā human need was cared for we may rejoice, for we are told by Abū Ṭālib that in many of his building enterprises people were dispossessed without compensation, often their houses torn down before they had a chance to move their things, and whole houses destroyed for a part of the materials in them.[2]

The magnificence of the Lucknow court is said to have exceeded that of Delhi.[3] The shift of the political centre away from Delhi is indicated by the fact that authors of several of the histories which Elliot and Dawson use for the close of the Mughal period wrote in Oudh, where royal favour and the companionship of nobles motivated their efforts.

As an example of the type of men drawn to Lucknow, we read of a famous doctor who had come from Mashhad, namely Zain al 'Abidīn Khān, one of the famous Sayyids of that city, who was proficient in arts and sciences but especially in medicine. He had received favours from Safdar Jung, but because of his friendship with one Muḥammad Qulī Khān, had left the Province and gone to Bengal during the rule of Shujā' al Daula. He was now invited to return to Lucknow and did so.[4]

Wazīr 'Ali, reputed son of Asaf al Daula, was at first recognized as successor to his father, but owing to reports of "illegitimacy, profligacy, and hostility of English interests" he was deposed, pensioned and sent to Benares.[5]

Sa'adat 'Ali, a half-brother of Asaf al Daula, was seated on the *masnad* in 1798. He had been accustomed to drink and other indulgences and continued these as king. He seriously considered resigning his government to the "Honourable Company," and did cede some districts known as "ceded Provinces," and the

[1] Avasthi, M. G., Lucknow Guide, p. 5.
[2] Abu Talib, *op. cit.*, p. 91 ff.
[3] Hay, S., Historic Lucknow. p. 14.
[4] Abu Talib, *op. cit.*, p. 13.
[5] Irwin, *op. cit.*, pp. 99/102.

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Nawab's army was replaced with Company troops, to maintain which the annual payments were increased to 126 lakhs annually.[1] In 1801, following a period of illness and despondency, he made a solemn vow at the Dargah of Ḥaḍrat 'Abbās that he would abandon the life of pleasure and devote all his efforts to his government. This vow he kept and for the remaining years of his life he conducted the administration in a commendable way. Of him, Irwin says that he was perhaps the ablest and most enlightened native ruler then living. Notwithstanding the fact that he had ceded nearly a half of his territory to the "Company" yet before his death he created a reserve in the treasury of fourteen crores of rupees, with debts and establishment costs all paid, and he was known as "the friend of the ryot."[2] It was during his administration that Dilkusha, Musa Bagh, Farhat Baksh, Sikandarbagh, and the new Dargah for Ḥaḍrat 'Abbās 'Ali were built. He is buried in the larger of the two tombs north of the Marris College of Music in Kaisar Bagh ; his wife in the smaller.[3]

Ghāzī al dīn Ḥaidar, son of Sa'adat 'Ali, succeeded his father. Until now the Nawabs had acknowledged their allegiance to the Emperor in Delhi. In 1819, at the instigation of Lord Moira, Ghāzī al dīn Ḥaidar took the title of king and was crowned on October 9. In 1820, by virtue of this independence, he struck gold and silver coins in which he styled himself "King of the World."[4] The *ta'alluqdr* system received new life during his reign which had no worthy revenue system and during which four crores of the reserve were used up. In an age when human values were often lost sight of, it is interesting to note that Ghāzī al dīn, when an English friend recommended the introduction of water-mills for grinding grain, decided against the innovation by saying, "my poor women shall never have cause to reproach me for depriving them of the use and benefit of the chuckie" (grind-stone).[5]

His chief contribution to the architecture of Lucknow is the Shah Najaf Imambara, where he and three of his wives lie buried.

Not much can be said for the second King of Oudh, Nasīr al dīn Ḥaidar. He is usually depicted as more debauched and disreputable than any of his predecessors, though in *The Private Life of an Eastern King*, the blame for affairs is placed more on

[1] Hay, *op. cit.*, pp. 20/21.
[2] Irwin, *op. cit.*, p. 103 ; Sleeman, *op. cit.*, p. 308.
[3] Avasthi, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
[4] Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 252/253.
[5] Ali, Mrs. Meer Hassan, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

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subordinates who were seeking to feather their own nests without regard to the effects of their conduct on the country. He used upward of nine crores from the reserve fund which had been built up. During the first two years of his reign the inscription on the obverse of his coins read

> In the world, by the grace of God, the royal coin has been struck with (the name of) the king of the world, Sulaiman Jah, the high exalted one.[1]

In the third year it was changed to read : " The Naib of Mahdi, Naṣīr al Dīn Ḥaidar, the king, struck coins in silver and gold under the grace and protection of God."[2]

Naṣīr al Dīn Ḥaidar died in 1837, in circumstances that suggested poison. He was buried in the ' kerbala ' known by his name, near Daliganj, across the Gumti river.[3] The Padshah Begam tried to get his putative son, Munna Jan installed on the throne, but failed. She and the son were sent away and kept as prisoners.[4] An uncle, a brother of Ghāzī al dīn, Naṣīr al Daula, under the title of Muḥammad 'Ali Shāh, was made king. He did well, reformed the administration, and added to the reserves some eight lackhs of rupees. Indicative of a changed emphasis in monuments, we find him remembered for the iron bridge across the Gumti and the metalled road to Cawnpore.[5]

Muḥammad 'Ali Shāh built a splendid tomb for his mother whom he suspected of having been poisoned, and

> endowed it with means for maintaining pious men to read the Koran in it, and attendants of all kinds to keep it in condition suitable to the mother of a king.[6]

This is known as the Husainabad Imambara built in 1839. Muḥammad 'Ali is also buried here. His wife is buried in the ' kerbala ' south-east of the large Imāmbārā. Muḥammad 'Ali endowed his Imāmbārā with a trust fund that yields an income of one and a half lakhs of rupees a year, for

> the maintenance of the Imambara, for purposes of education and charity, and for the Imambara of Asafu'd Daula, and the tomb of Sa'adat 'Ali Khan and Jama' Masjid.[7]

The fourth King of Oudh, 'Amjad 'Ali Shāh, was the son of

[1] Brown, C. J., The Coins of the Kings of Awadh, JASB, VIII, 250.
[2] Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 252/253.
[3] Avasthi, *op. cit.*, pp. 14, 41.
[4] Irwin, *op. cit.*, pp. 127/128.
[5] Sleeman, *op. cit.*, I., p. 310 ; Irwin, *op. cit.*, p. 135.
[6] Sleeman, *op. cit.*, II, p. 173.
[7] Avasthi, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

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Muḥammad 'Ali Shāh. Until his reign, in accordance with empire practice, the only *Muftī*, or authority on law, was a Sunni, and all cases were decided by Sunni law. 'Amjad 'Ali appointed a Shiite *Muftī*, and made the law of Shiism the law of the Province, except in cases where both parties were Sunnis, or one was a Sunni and the other a Hindu.[1]

> Officers with the title of Mujtahid were found in Oude at the time of its annexation. It is probable that they were appointed soon after the assumption of the royal title by the Nuwab Vizier. But what were their duties, or whether any duties were especially assigned to them I have not been able to ascertain. At present I believe they are confined to the superintendence and care of endowments for pious and charitable purposes, though they seem occasionally to be called upon by the courts of justice for their opinions on Sheeah law.[2]

This king used the fish on the reverse of his coins and on the obverse we read, "Amjad 'Ali, king of the Universe, the refuge of the world, the shade of God, struck royal coins in the world through the help of God."[3] The reserve fund continued to grow in this reign until at 'Amjad 'Ali's death it had risen to one crore and thirty-six lakhs.[4] 'Amjad 'Ali was buried in a mausoleum which he had erected in Hazratganj.[5]

On 'Amjad 'Ali's death his eldest son, Muṣṭafā 'Ali Ḥaidar, having been pronounced insane, was debarred from the succession,[6] which passed to the second son, who became Wajid 'Ali Shāh. It was during his reign that Major General Sleeman, who was the Resident from 1849 to 1856, was commissioned by Lord Dalhousie to make a tour of the kingdom to determine whether or not it should be annexed. He reported that the king was suffering from a disease that proved to be very stubborn to diagnosis or treatment,[7] and in writing of the king he pictured his life of indulgence which necessarily affected the efficiency of his administration, and added :

> He has never been a cruel or badly-disposed man, but his mind, naturally weak, has entirely given way, and he is now as helpless as an infant.[8]

With regard to the administration of law, we read of an instance

[1] Baillie, N. B. E., Digest of Muhammadan Law, Imameea, xi-xii.
[2] *Ibid.*, xiv.
[3] Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 254.
[4] Sleeman, *op. cit.*, i, p. 310.
[5] Avasthi, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
[6] Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 254/255.
[7] Sleeman, *op. cit.*, xlvi.
[8] *Ibid.*, lxxix.

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in which a Nāẓim was charged with serious offences. He made his way from the district to Lucknow, where he surrendered, expecting there to receive impunity as others had. His chances are described this way :

> The Nazim is a Mohammedan, a Syud, and a Sheeah. No Sheeah could be sentenced to death for the murder, even of a Soonnee, at Lucknow, much less for that of a Hindoo. If a Hindoo murders a Hindoo and consents to become a Mussulman, he cannot be so sentenced ; and if he consents to become so after sentence has been passed, it cannot be carried into execution. Such is the law and such the every-day practice.[1] . . . anyone who presumes to approach him, even in his rides or drives, with a petition for justice is instantly clapped into prison, or otherwise severely punished.[2]

The regular darbars held by the father and grandfather had been discontinued.

Wajid 'Ali Shāh abdicated on February 7, 1856. He is usually considered the last of the Kings of Oudh, though another by the name of Brijis Qadr, his son, was proclaimed his successor during the mutiny.[3] Wajid 'Ali was interned in Calcutta, where he died in 1887. He was granted a pension of twelve lakhs of rupees a year for life.[4] The group of buildings known as Qaisar Bagh belong to his reign. Some descendants of the royal family still live in Lucknow.

Three illustrations of the way in which administration and religion were inextricably linked are taken from this period.

(*a*) Wajid 'Ali's treasury was exhausted and in arrears. The *zakāt* is required to be paid by a State, as by individuals only when free from debt. 'Amjad 'Ali, because his establishments were paid up, had been able to pay this charity from his reserve. But the Mujtahid, to whom it had usually been paid, with the ministers and court favourites, were too interested not to have it continue, and since the king acquiesced with their wishes, the *zakāt* not only was paid, but it actually increased as the treasury became depleted.[5]

(*b*) The *ta'zia* procession during the Muḥarram celebration is held on the tenth day after the new moon is seen. Ordinarily, this is determined locally. But in Oudh a royal order prescribed that throughout the kingdom the day of procession should agree

[1] Sleeman, *op. cit.*, p. 135 ff.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 178.
[3] Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 256.
[4] Avasthi, *op. cit.*, p. 17.
[5] Sleeman, *op. cit.*, I, p. 311

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with the time fixed in Lucknow. In 1850, the moon was first seen in Lucknow on November 30, but in Shahabad a group of Pathans insisted on their own day, accusing a Hindu deputy of having changed the king's order through malice. A riot in which a considerable amount of damage was done, resulted.[1]

(*c*) Approximately three and a half crores of rupees, or three and a half million sterling, has been invested in Government loans by the sovereigns of Oudh for members of their families and dependents, whose descendants all draw it at the original rate of interest to the amount of over fourteen lakhs of rupees a year. Some of these pensioners had been accustomed to sending money to the shrines at Mecca, Medina, Kerbala and Najaf Ashraf, and since some left no will or heir, those pensions are being paid to the shrines.[2]

[1] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 46/47.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 9, 171.

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CHAPTER XI

MUḤARRAM

ALTHOUGH Ḥusain's death at Kerbala occurred over thirteen hundred years ago, its tragedy is made vivid for every Shia, and many others, through the annual observance of the Muḥarram festival, which Donaldson characterizes as " the most distinctive and the most widely known of all Shi'ite customs."[1]

For all Muslims the month of Muḥarram has significance. Even before the time of the Prophet Muḥammad, it was marked by an annual feast. The tenth day, called *'ashūra*, is especially marked by being the day when the first rain fell ; when Adam and Eve were created ; when the ninth heaven was created, and when the divine mission was granted to the spirits of ten thousand prophets.[2] But while the tenth day has this, and still other significance for all Muslims, Mūharram as observed by the Shias includes the first ten days, of which the tenth is the most important. As early as A.H. 352, during the supremacy of the Buwaihids, at Baghdad, Muizz al Daula introduced the custom commemorating the events of Muḥarram with a period of mourning.

> The bazaars were closed ; the butchers suspended their business ; cooks ceased cooking ; the cisterns were emptied of their contents ; pitchers were placed with felt coverings on the streets ; women walked about with fallen tresses, blackened faces, torn dresses, striking their faces and wailing for Husain.[3]

At that time, too, elegies and lamentations were read.[4]

The observance of Muḥarram has spread with Shiism. In India it can, perhaps, be seen to best advantage at Lucknow, where something of the splendour of the days of the Oudh kings is still preserved in the celebrations, though the extravagance of those days when, as Knighton says, one Nawab spent as much as three hundred thousand pounds sterling for one Muḥarram celebration, is not continued. Yet the endowment created by Nawāb

[1] Donaldson, D. M., The Shi'ite Religion, p. 277.
[2] Jaffur Shurreef, Islam in India, Tr. Herklots, G. A., p. 149.
[3] Bakhsh, S. Khuda, The Renaissance of Islam, Is. Cul., II, p. 423.
[4] Muhammad 'Ali, Burhanu'l Futuh, E & D, VIII, p. 36.

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MUHARRAM

Muḥammad 'Ali Shāh makes possible a real and picturesque observance of the Muḥarram period, which starts on the appearance of the new moon, the evening before the first of the month.

The connecting strand which runs through, and gives unity to the programme during the ten days, or more, of mourning, is in the *majālis*, mourning assemblies, where step by step, the day-to-day events are remembered, from the time that Ḥusain received the invitation from the Kufans to the time of his martyrdom. Details in the programme vary from place to place. My friend, Sayyid Akhlaq Husain, has given me this order of observance in and near Lucknow. On the first and second days there is much visiting among relatives and the story of Husain's setting forth against the earnest entreaties of his family, his travel and his arrival at Kerbala is recounted. Owing to a rumour that Yazīd proposed to kill him he had not gone that year on pilgrimage, and so started for Kūfa *via* Mecca. In this journey he met the troops of Hur. On the third day they recall the encampment at Kerbala, Ḥusain's moving back from the river, and the arrangement with the Bani Asad for the burial of those who might be killed. On the fourth and fifth days the difficulties of Ḥuusain and his party are recited ; on the sixth the valour and death of 'Ali Akbar, Ḥusain's son. On the seventh, the heroism of Qāsim, a son of Imam Ḥasan and an account of his betrothal to Ḥusain's daughter, is recalled. The eighth and ninth days are given to a recounting of the part that Ḥaḍrat 'Abbās and others of the seventy-two martyrs had, while on the tenth the poignant circumstances in which Ḥusain himself was killed is the centre of thought for all.

It is noteworthy that no part of the Shiite commemoration is at a mosque. That is set apart for prayer. In many places Imambaras have been erected solely for the purpose of *majālis* for remembering the Imams. Some of these are seldom used except at Muharram ; in others, more frequent assemblies for the purpose are convened. At Jalalpur, near Fyzabad in the United Provinces, is an *Imāmbārā* built from a fund established by weavers to which they contributed a pice for each piece of cloth that they wove.[1] At Hugli, Bengal, the *Imāmbārā* is said to have cost two lakhs of rupees.[2] In Fatehpur, United Provinces, the *Imāmbārā* was built by an officer of Naṣīr al dīn Ḥaidar, and in Lucknow three Imambaras stand to the credit of the rulers who lived there. All three are worthy of being seen ; each is very

[1] IGI, 1908, XIV, p. 16.
[2] IGI, 1908, XIII, p. 177.

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different from the other. The Husainabad Imambara, erected by Muḥammad 'Ali Shāh is comparatively small and ornate in comparison with the "Bara Imambara" which was erected by Asaf al Daula. The third, built by Ghāzī al dīn Ḥaidar, the first king of Oudh, is known as the Shah Najaf, and is so called because it contains a *zarīh* or imitation of the grave of Ali at Najaf. The so-called "bara" *Imāmbārā* in Shahjahanpur is quite small, but within it is a model of Ḥusain's grave with its protective silver railing. Imambaras in which there is such a *zarīh* do not usually set up within the same hall any *ta'zia*—the *zarīh* itself serving as a permanent *ta'zia*.

Outstanding among the accessories for Muḥarram is the *ta'zia*. The word signifies 'grief' or 'consoling.'[1] In the original meaning the term is applied to expressions of sympathy,[2] and therefore also to the Passion Play for Ḥusain. But popularly, now, the word is used in north India for miniatures of the tomb of Ḥusain, seen to best advantage in the procession of the tenth day. They are called tabuts in south India. The custom of carrying these models of Ḥusain's tomb is said to date from the time of Tīmūr (d. 808/1405), who brought such a miniature tomb back from Kerbala.[3] Properly speaking, real tazias, while varying in size and proportion, and in the materials of which they are made, have in general the shape of a domed tomb. In many places the spirit of carnival has entered into this portion of the commemoration as in others, and tazias for which neither 'imitation' nor 'miniature' apply, are found in the procession.

Most tazias are built on a bamboo framework, on a platform to which large bamboos may be attached for carrying on the shoulders of men—often hired Hindus. Covering the frame may be paper. The more wealthy will have tazias of wood which may be covered with ivory or ebony or even silver. Where paper and wood are used they may be covered also with a talc or mica on the underside of which craftsmen, skilled in this art, have made designs of flowers, scrolls, etc., called *likhaī*, the whole of which produces a very pleasing and beautiful effect. One of the kings of Oudh had a *ta'zia* which was made in England of green glass with brass mouldings.[4] One of the largest I have seen was made

[1] Ali, Mrs. Meer Hassan, Observations on the Mussalmanns of India, p. 18, n. 2.
[2] Sweetman, J. W., Some Additional Notes on Muharram, News and Notes June 1935, p. 46.
[3] Ali, Mrs. Meer Hassan, *op. cit.*, p. 18, n. 2.
[4] Knighton, W., The Private Life of an Eastern King, p. 235.

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of wood, overlaid as described above. It was about twenty feet in height, with four stories below the dome, each having little windows with green shutters, and small doors that could open and shut, and with little electric bulbs to light the interior. Not far from this *ta'zia* was another, much smaller, with only a low dome, which with its pillars, had been covered with a fine net which was filled with wheat. This had been moistened so that by the tenth day the grain had sprouted through the net and the whole was a living green mat of wheat an inch or more high. Another *ta'zia* was a horse made of bamboo frame and paper, flanked by a screen of bamboo, in which white flowers and green leaves, apparently made of wax, were entwined. On the horse, which was Ḥusain's Duldul, was an empty saddle-throne. Another kind of *ta'zia* showed a group of trees, bearing fruit, near which could be seen a deer, a tiger, or other animal, or birds. Miss Greenfield tells of a *ta'zia* she saw in Hyderabad which had the form of a camel and was made out of cress.[1] A British Civil Officer told me of one city where electric wires were strung some twenty feet above the road. The Shias had tried to get them removed and put higher because someone had a *ta'zia* twenty-seven feet in height. This case went through the courts and finally was appealed to the Privy Council, where, since there is no requirement that a *ta'zia* must be that high, the appeal was disallowed and the electric wires were not changed!

A few days before Muḥarram starts, tazias are set in Imambaras, tabut khanas, or ashur khanas. These may be rooms set apart for the occasion, a protected corner of the courtyard of a Shiite home, or a building especially erected for remembering the Imams, where the person who has had them built, may also be buried. In such a place, under a canopy whose quality is determined by the means of the home, it stays until the tenth day. The canopy used by Naṣīr al dīn of Lucknow was of green velvet embroidered with gold.[2] The *ta'zia* is placed near a wall facing Mecca, and nearby is a small desk, *minbar*, or pulpit, sometimes of material like that of the *ta'zia*. Within the *Imāmbārā*, and here again the arrangements vary with the means, will be chandeliers with glass pendants and lustres, or candles, mirrors and other devices for increasing brilliancy and brightness. In some places a pit for a fire is dug in front of the *Imāmbārā* and the *majlis* is held about

[1] Greenfield, Miss K., The Chief Shi'a 'Alams of Hyderabad, News and Notes, June 1935, p. 45; Mos. W., XXVII, p. 269.

[2] Knighton, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

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this. Birdwood says that if people cannot have a *tābūt khāna* or a *tābūt* they

> always have a Muharram fire lighted, although it may consist of only a night-light floating at the bottom of an earthen pot or basin sunk in the ground.

This is thought to represent the trench of fire about Husain's camp. A Shiite friend of mine seemed not to know about these fire pits, which means only that in his section they are not used. Birdwood continues :

> In India, at least, these Muharram fires, especially among the more ignorant populace—Hindus as well as Mahometans—are regarded with the most profound awe, and have a greater hold on their reverence than the tabuts themselves. All day long the passers by stop before these fires, and make their vows over them ; and all night long the crowds dance round and leap through them and scatter about burning brands snatched from them.[1]

Herklots says that in Hyderabad, instead of the setting up of tazias, some people

> erect a royal seat (shahnishin) or a ' palace of justice ' (dad mahall) which, like the cenotaphs, are made of bamboo, paper and tinsel. This is placed against the wall of the *'ashurkhana*, and standards are set up within it. It has sometimes a transparency in the form of a lamp shade which moves with the slightest breeze, and is called the ' revolving shade ' (charki fanus) or the ' fancy shade ' (fanus i khayal), the latter being a lantern which revolves through the heat of the candle placed inside, and has outside figures of camels and other animals. These shades are sometimes made independently and are placed in front of the ' royal seat '. Some set up what are called ' screens ' (tatti) made of square pieces of mica and mercury, like looking glasses which shine brightly in the glare. Large sums of money are spent in making these ' screens ' which are especially in vogue in the city of Hyderabad.[2]

At the sides of the tazias within the Imambaras are set up the alams or standards of Ḥusain and his companions. These, too, vary in size and material, some having gold and silver embroidery, with tassels and fringes. Some are extremely plain. The standard may be beautifully covered. This is mounted by a crest which has its own significance, probably the most common form being that of an open hand, signifying the *panjtan*, the five pure members of the Prophet's household. The term *'alam* is used for the

[1] Birdwood, G. C. M., Sva, Ed. by Brown, F. H., p. 173.
[2] Jaffur Shurreef, *op. cit.*, Tr. Herklots, p. 165.

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crest and the standard, or for the standard alone, to which streamers or pennants may or may not be attached. These are often named after people.

In an article on *The Chief Shi'a 'Alams of Hyderabad* Miss Greenfield describes the five royal alams from the time of the Quṭb Shahs as being all in gold, and the largest of these as having intricate lettering, and being surmounted by two large representations of 'Ali's sword. The delicately coloured silk cloths for decorating these alams are provided by H.E.H. the *Nīẓām*, and they cost from two to three hundred rupees each. The heaviest of the alams in Hyderabad is said to weigh from two to three tons, and the names inscribed on the centre look like a lamb's face. The *Nāl Ṣāḥib*, said to be a horse shoe from 'Ali's horse, is encased in sandal paste which is added to each year, so that the shoe itself cannot be seen. " Bundles of peacock feathers were leaning up against this *'alam*. These are waved in front of it when the incense is burning." Another *'alam* is called *Qadam-i-Rasūl* (footprint of the Prophet). It is encased in a coffin-shaped box. The most common *'alam* is probably the open hand. There is one in Hyderabad with twelve hands ; one hand at the base over which are five hands in a row, and then on top of these five there are two rows of three each. These represent, of course, the twelve Imams. Behind this *'alam*, in a sandalwood case is another relic with which India is blessed, an impression in stone of 'Ali's hand. This, too, was brought from Arabia. The *'Ashur Khāna* in which it is preserved has been in charge of descendants of the family ever since it was brought to India in the days of the Quṭb Shahs. The only *'alam* which is carried on an elephant is called *Bibi ka 'Alam*, representing Fāṭima. It is made of gold and consists of the intertwined names and has three green bags said to contain real diamonds hanging from each side like ear-rings. It is carried in procession on the tenth day, and is preceded by an emblem that has the form of a mouth with a hand over it and serves to announce the approach of the *'alam* itself.[1]

In the days of the Nawabs of Oudh a *majlis* was held in an *Imāmbārā* twice a day ; at present, it seems, once a day. *Majālis* are also held in homes where a *ta'zia* has been erected, and even in some that do not have a *ta'zia*. By groups going from house to house, these *majālis* may continue through the greater part of the day. In large gatherings, individuals especially trained are

[1] Greenfield, Miss K., *op. cit.*, p. 45.

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sometimes employed to relate that part of the history belonging to the day. An address may also be made. Then come the *marāthi*, or elegies, in which members of the congregation may join.

> The *Marthiya* (lamentation or elegy on the death of Hasan and Husain) is frequently great literature. The *Marthiya* of Mir Anis in spite of its extraordinary length, its manifest anachronisms and its hyperbole, is a piece of literature which, when recited during the ten days, stirs the deepest emotions and rouses the strongest feelings. Its descriptive power is great and its appeal moves the strongest to tears. The taunts of the warriors in battle and the description of the tiny babe, which was slain, so young that it was 'not able to open its little hands,' the depicting of the fierce heat of strife and the equally moving and tender narrative of the calmness and courage and the affection of the family of Husain are such as to affect not merely the Shi'a whose faith inclines him to take these things to heart, but the Sunni also.[1]

Following the *marāthi* come lamentations accompanied with the beating of breasts in unison, those partaking calling out meantime, "Ya Ḥasan! Ya Ḥusain!" At the close of the *majlis* the group unites in repeating the names of the twelve Imams, and sometimes repeating, with curses, *tabarru'*, the names of the first three *khulafā*. It would be difficult to overestimate the effect of the *majālis* during Muḥarram. The events of Kerbala are so told as often to work up a frenzy of hate against those who had any share in the killing of Imam Ḥusain and his relatives, while Ḥusain the Martyr becomes more strongly enshrined in the hearts of the Shias as their intercessor and saviour.

If the heart of the Muḥarram commemoration is found in the *majlis*, the events there narrated also allow scope for drama and pageantry and these have not been overlooked, nor their value in creating public interest forgotten. Three days particularly afford opportunity for such drama: the fifth night, when the banners or alams of Ḥusain and his companions are taken in procession, in which his white horse, Duldul, caparisoned and saddled and with umbrella, but also marked with red spots reminiscent of the blood of the absent rider, has a place; the seventh, when is held the *menhdi* procession, commemorating the death of Qasim, son of Ḥasan who was betrothed to the daughter of Ḥusain; the tenth, or *'Ashūrā*, when tazias are taken in procession to Kerbala for burial.

[1] Sweetman, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

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MUHARRAM

Shias in Lucknow are fortunate in having in their midst the *very 'alam*, or metal crest, of the standard that was carried for Ḥusain on the field of Kerbala. It is enshrined in a *dargāh* built especially for this purpose. An Indian pilgrim at Mecca was vouchsafed a vision in which 'Abbās 'Ali, the standard-bearer of Ḥusain, revealed the precise spot where this relic would be found at Kerbala. Going there, he sought it and brought it to Nawāb Asaf al Daula, then the ruler in Lucknow, who had a shrine built and put in charge of the fortunate pilgrim. Later, Sa'adat 'Ali Khān, recovering from an illness, in thankfulness built a finer *dargāh* for the same sacred crest.[1] Here, on the fifth day of Muḥarram, ardent Shias bring their alams or standards to touch their *panje* or crests to that of Ḥusain. The relic, mounted on a staff, without pennant or streamers, is fixed in the centre of the *dargāh* with other alams at its sides. The estimates of forty or fifty thousand alams[2] that have been hallowed in a day may be an exaggeration, but they certainly signify a largely observed practice, and may indicate also that the Shiite community of that day was very much large than now.

In Lahore, as many as four *'alam* processions are led through Muslim sections of the city. Two years ago, in Hyderabad, "H.E.H. the Niẓām offered flowers to *''alam'* which was mounted on an elephant."[3] In some places a "duldul" procession is held which has much the same purpose. One year, in Ferozepur, United Provinces, the authorities had refused to allow the Shias to take out a "duldul" procession. They, therefore, would not take out the mourning procession with the tazias on the last day,

> and have been, as demanded by their religious law, in mourning throughout the year, most of the members sleeping on overturned cots, and wearing black shirts, besides holding mourning meetings every month.[4]

The next year, however, the Shias, "for the first time in the history of the city and without the permission of the police," took out a "duldul" procession "at midnight when the citizens were asleep."

The *mendhi*, according to Platt's Hindustani Dictionary, is

> an ark or tabernacle, carried in solemn procession by Muhammedans on the eve of the anniversary of the death of a person, who died just as he was about to marry.

[1] Irwin, H. C., The Garden of India, p. 109.
[2] Ali, Mrs. Meer Hassan, *op. cit.*, p. 36; Knighton, *op. cit.*, p. 241.
[3] The Statesman, Delhi Ed., Jan. 10, 1944.
[4] The Statesman, Delhi Ed., April 2, 1936.

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The Shiite *'ulamā* do not accept the possibility of a marriage of Qasim at Kerbala as historical, for he was then but a youth, and his betrothed much younger. But in the days of the Nawabs of Oudh, the celebration of the event on the seventh night, with a parade involving both show and expense, was held; and all classes, whether rich or poor, had their celebration at home. The procession is led by drummers,

> followed by hundreds of ('alam) standard bearers. Then come a string of camels in single file, with half a dozen elephants carrying silver howdahs.[1]
>
> The ceremonies performed on this night of Mayndhie resemble in every particular, those of the same rank of persons on the actual solemnization of a wedding, even to the distribution of money amongst the populace who crowd in multitudes on such occasions, though apparently more eager for the prize than the sight.[2]
>
> During the first ten days it (the ta'zia) is supposed to be alive (or to contain the real bodies of the martyrs); when no European is allowed to touch it; but now the corpses being removed, and this bier of no further use, may be kicked about and anything done with it.[3]

The tenth day of Muḥarram is the most important. Early on this day, after a brief ceremony, the *ta'zia* is removed from the *Imāmbārā* and taken in procession with the alams to the local *kerbala* for the purpose of burying the tazias. The procession has a fixed line of march, and moves slowly, halting at intervals, when the marthiyas are recited. Many, to show mourning, walk the distance; some beat their breasts in grief, calling "Ya Ḥasan Ya Ḥusain!" Others swing flails, now over the right shoulder, now over the left, striking their backs and drawing blood.

As long ago as 1927, H.E.H. the Niẓām issued a *farman* forbidding the practice of "beating the breast and back with chains and planks studded with pointed barbs during the Muḥarram grieving" in his dominions.[4] Many Shias, one must believe, would agree with the *farmān* in describing these self-inflicted cruelties as "revolting and repugnant" for a great many, grieving no less, refrain from such outward expression of their grief, commemorate the occasion "without parade or ostentatious display and apparently wear mourning on their hearts, with their garb."[5]

[1] Illustrated Times of India, January 25, 1942, p. 27.
[2] Ali, Mrs. Meer Hassan, *op. cit.*, p. 46.
[3] Jaffur Shurreef, *op. cit.*, p. 224.
[4] Indian Witness, Aug. 3, 1927.
[5] Ali, Mrs. Meer Hassan, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

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Tears shed in lamentation during Muḥarram are sometimes wiped with cotton-wool and collected, either by the mourner himself, or by someone authorized to gather them. They are reputed to be potent for certain physical cures and some believe

> that when the one who has shed them has passed away and is subjected to the purgatory or inquisition of the tomb, their tears mitigate the fires of purgation.[1]

At Kerbala prepared graves are ready, those for large tazias in one row, smaller ones in other rows. Large tazias may be taken apart into base, dome and body, but put into one grave. Earth is thrown upon them, and water also. Some say the water is in memory of Ḥusain's inability to get water; the more realistic admit that it will expedite decay of the wooden frames. Ordinarily, the *kerbala* is near a river, or other body of water, but I am told that this is not an essential condition. Expensive tazias, or those of wood, are often taken back to the *Imāmbārā*, or to the home, until Chihlam, thirty days later, or until the following Muḥarram. They are renovated before being used again. The owner of a *ta'zia* may, if he wishes, give a *ta'zia* to another person who asks for it, to be kept for a year, but that person is under obligation to bury it a year later. Graves are used over and over, but not until the tazias previously buried have completely decayed. At Bombay, the tabuts or tazias, which would elsewhere be buried, " are taken out into the sea as far as they can be carried, and abandoned to the waves."[2]

Ḥusain died on the tenth of Muḥarram. For many, the Muḥarram festival is completed on that date, but Muslim custom recognizes forty days of mourning, and some Shias, from zeal or because of a vow, observe the whole forty days of mourning for Ḥusain. For instance, Naṣīr al dīn, Nawāb in Lucknow, vowed as a youth, that if he ever came to the throne, he would keep Muḥarram for forty days, and he did. He lived at such periods

> entirely with his male Mohamedan relatives or attendants, drinking no wine, giving no dinners, and indulging in none of those luxuries of which he was so fond.[3]

Some who observe the forty days of mourning, remember on the eleventh day of Muḥarram the baby son of Ḥusain which was killed in his arms, using a cradle as a visible reminder. Many bury their tazias on the twelfth day of Muḥarram, called Saiyyum,

[1] Sweetman *op. cit.*, p. 46.
[2] Birdwood, *op. cit.*, p. 177.
[3] Knighton, *op. cit.*, pp. 238/239.

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the third day of mourning after death. Some keep their tazias until the fortieth day, Chihlam, when they are taken to *kerbala*. The Chihlam procession resembles closely that of the tenth day of Muḥarram. In Lucknow there is on about the eighth of Rabi' I, what is known as the " chup tazia " procession when tazias are taken to *kerbala* but the procession moves in complete silence. Women, as would be expected in any religious function, share deeply in the mourning of Muḥarram.

> When the Moon of Muharram is seen the women assemble in grave solemnity and break their glass bangles. In ordinary days no woman with her husband alive would deliberately do so as arms without bangles are a sign of widowhood. Not a vestige of any other ornament should remain on the body after the moon is seen. No woman may comb her hair, wear red, yellow, gold or any other colour. Green and black are the only colours allowed, Laughter is strictly forbidden, and no music except sad tunes of compositions called ' Nauha ' may pass the lips.[1]

Except in the homes of the wealthy there is no separate *Imāmbārā* in the *zenāna* quarters. In some places, one day is reserved for ladies in the public Imambaras as at Murshidabad and Hyderabad. In the Bara Imāmbārā of Lucknow galleries are available for women. At night, less often in the day, the women gather in front of the *Imāmbārā* in the home, and led by a woman, have their own *majlis*.

> The couplets which are sung describe the woes and suffering of the Prophet's family in all their terrible details. The words are often put in the mouth of a mother weeping for her young one or a sister mourning the loss of her brother. Very often the poem describes the agonies of children writhing in thirst for a drop of water, holding empty glasses in their hands, looking wistfully in the direction of the river.[2]

The *majlis* is brought to a close with the *mātam i Ḥusainī*, with the calling of the names of Ḥasan and Ḥusain, and the striking of the breasts. This frenzy may last for half an hour and women may be carried out in a faint. Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali gives this testimony :

> I never could have given credit to the extent of their bewailings without witnessing as I have done for many years, the season for tears and profound grief return with the month of Muharram. In sorrowing for the martyred Emaums they seem

[1] Zohra Mahmud, Muharram in a Shia Home, The Statesman, Feb. 25, 1940, p. 3.
[2] *Ibid.*

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to forget their private griefs ; the bereavement of a beloved object even is almost overlooked in the dutiful remembrance of Hasan and Hosein at this period ; and I have had opportunities of observing this triumph of religious feeling in women, who are remarkable for their affectionate attachment to their children, husband and parents ;—they tell me, ' We must not indulge selfish sorrows of our own, whilst the Prophet's family alone have a right to our tears.[1]

The same writer tells of her *ayah*, a very old and ignorant woman, who out of respect for the Imam refused to take a drop of liquid, not even a drop of water during the ten days. The women, of course, share in the denial of usual comforts as do men, sleeping on the floors, doing without pillows, or cushions, omitting dainties from food, foregoing luxuries like *pān*, and other things. The women will also find opportunities to make requests of their Imams, by placing red or green candles in front of tazias, the red light being for Ḥusain, and the green for Ḥasan, believing fully that their desires will be fulfilled.[2]

To such an extent have Sunnis and Hindus entered into the Muḥarram celebrations in parts of India that their form has been altered and the meaning corrupted. In South Gujarat, after the fourth day, mourning gives place to merriment until the tenth day.[3] The only special activity in intervening days is the giving of sherbet on roadsides to children and travellers. In south India much of buffoonery is introduced by Muhammadan faqirs, especially on the fifth day,[4] and to a lesser degree, on the second, sixth or seventh. This is also true in Bombay. In Surat, in fulfillment of a vow, children are dressed in green, and clothes are sent by them to relatives.[5] In different sections of the country, boys and men dress as tigers and go about singing the Muḥarram dirges, and begging from spectators. This representation of tigers is thought to be a reminder of the lion which is said to have kept watch near the body of Ḥusain after his burial.

In Hyderabad and Gujarat where it is generally considered that the marriage of Qāsim and Sakīnah had started but was suddenly interrupted by the death of Qāsim, a very different celebration has developed from that of the north. During the days of the 'Adil Shāhī dynasty, a pilgrim to Kerbala found and brought to Bijapur the shoe which had been cast by Qāsim's horse on that

[1] Ali, Mrs. Meer Hassan, *op. cit.*, p. 24.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 51.
[3] Jaffur Shurreef, *op. cit.*, p. 161.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 185 ; Tribes and Castes of the C.P., 1, p. 263.
[5] Jaffur Shurreef, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

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eventful day. After the fall of Bijapur the relic was removed to Hyderabad. Now known as *Na'l Ṣāḥib*, or " Mr. Horseshoe," it is shown each Muḥarram to the public among whom it is generally believed that the spirit of the groom resides in the *Na'l Ṣāḥib*, and the *dulha*, or groom, ceremony has resulted.

It follows that the holder of Lord Horseshoe may receive into him the spirit or *hal* of the bridegroom. To gain this inspiration the following rules are observed. A silver or iron rod two to three feet long ending in a massive crescent or horse shoe and covered on all sides with peacock-tail feathers is for a considerable time set before some burning incense. In the Dakhan especially in Haidarabad after each Muharram many such rods with horse-shoe tops are thrown into a well. Before the next Muharram all who have thrown their rods into it repair to the well and await the pleasure of the martyr who makes the rod of the person he has chosen to become a bridegroom rise to the surface. In Gujerat this miracle is not vouchsafed. In Gujerat a hole is dug about a foot broad and a foot deep. In this hole a fire is kindled and the person who has vowed to become a *Dula* goes round the fire seven or eleven times. If the man or any of his friends notices the bridegroom-spirit moving the devotee they wave the rod with the feathers up and down before his face fanning him gently while incense is freely burnt. The people round keep up a chorus of *Dula Dula Dula Dula* to the measure of which the person wishing to be possessed sways at first in gentle and by degrees in more violent oscillations. When the full power of the breath or *hal* fills the devotee, that is when his eyeballs turn up and become fixed in a stony stare and his body grows cold he is made to keep his face bowed among the peacock feathers. After his face has been for some time pressed in the feathers the spirit seizes him and he rushes out heedless of water and fire. As he starts one of his friends holds him from behind supporting and steadying him. He guides the *Dula's* aimless impulse to the place or akhādās of other Dulas and Taaziahs where fresh incense is burned before his face. One his way from place to place the *Dula* is stopped by wives praying for the blessing of children or the removal of a rival or the casting out of a *ginn* or other evil spirit. To secure a son the *Dula* generally directs a flower or two to be picked from the jasmin garlands that deck his shoe-rod. On returning to his own place or *akhādā* the *Dula* falls senseless and after remaining senseless for an hour or two regains consciousness. Only those can become possessed who have vowed to be *Dulas*. Even to these the afflatus is sometimes denied. No woman can be possessed by the *Dula* spirit.[1]

[1] Bombay Gazetteer, IX, Pt. 2, p. 138.

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MUHARRAM

To the orthodox Sunni, the Shiite tazias and the public exposure of grief and mourning as if opposing Allah's will, even with a martyr, are, to say the least, irregular. Admitting this, some explain the widespread participation of Sunnis in the Muḥarram festival by saying that only the superstitious do it ; others, that the Sunnis take part only as a *tamāsha* or carnival ; others are satisfied to say it is a custom. Brown says that in the Deccan the Muḥarram " is the carnival of the year ; observed more by Sunnis than Shi'as."[1] In the north many Sunnis keep tazias and take them out in procession. Often this is in keeping of vows that have been made. When asked why the Sunnis participate, a Shia replied to me to this effect :

> The Sunnis recognize Hasan and Husain as grandsons of the Prophet whom he greatly loved, and that they were killed. Some too have found prayers answered, and so continue to pray.

One feels, however, that there is an explanation deeper than these, that the human heart hungers for an understanding and sympathy not found in Islam's rigid insistence on arbitrary power, and that something of that hunger is met by the idea of a mediator with a human touch—within Islam.

In 1934 a special feature of the Muḥarram *majālis* in Delhi was the fact that Sunnis, Hindus and Shias attended.[2] Sunni participation in the *ta'zia* procession at Shahjahanpur, United Provinces, has transformed it until the element of mourning has been almost completely eliminated, and the time for the procession has been changed to night, getting under way about ten o'clock. and reaching *kerbala* in the morning. All tazias are accompanied by bright lights. The procession halts at short intervals, and opportunity to admire the tazias is facilitated by burning sparklers in front and behind. Often rockets are sent up. Musicians beat drums and blow horns and other instruments. Along the line of march and between parts of the procession, are sideshows where men with fire on poles or with swords in hand, dance before large crowds. Now and again, in front of a *ta'zia* one hears a dirge, or *marthiya*, but it is in no way the prevailing note, nor the spirit of the march, which is entirely that of a *tamāsha*, or show. The procession on the night of Chihlam is almost a repetition of the Muḥarram procession.

[1] Brown, G. E., Moslem World, II, p. 68.
[2] The Statesman, Delhi Ed., April 24, 1934.

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Conflicts between Sunnis and Shias at Muḥarram are not infrequent. Processions in cities are accompanied by police along fixed lines of march. The following quotations from a single newspaper are not unusual. They indicate what might happen if government did not keep the situation under control: "Adequate measures avert incidents"; "Muharram passed off peacefully"; "All shops remained closed in . . . in order to avoid incidents"; "Several women offered *satyagraha* in front of the final procession . . . about twenty miles from Allahabad. They object to the passing of the procession through their fields"; "the police took great precautions to prevent a breach of the peace"; "as a sequel to the cane charge by the police on a *Mendhi* procession the Moslems of . . . did not celebrate the Muharram to-day. No *ta'zia* processions were taken out . .. Business was transacted as usual in the Hindu localities"; "bomb thrown on procession."[1] Not all of these disturbances spring from sectarian differences, but those differences actuate many fracases. Birdwood says, that in Bombay where the first four days of Muḥarram are likely to be devoted to visiting each other's tabut khanas, women and children as well as men are admitted, and members of other communities—only the Sunnis are denied "simply as a police precaution."[2]

If many Sunnis have come to share in the Muḥarram celebration, much more have Hindus, and with them there is no inhibition from their religion. The celebration appeals to them as also the story; the horse-shoe celebration, the finding of the crest of Ḥusain's banner, the *qadam-i-rasūl*, and a stone impression of 'Ali's hand, the making of vows, etc.—all these savour more of Hinduism than they do of Islam, but through the years they have been accepted by Sunni Muslims also.

In Bihar, low castes are said actually to worship Ḥasan and Ḥusain as gods. Even among good Hindu castes (Kayasthas, Agarwala, Rajputs), men and women vow that if they get a son he will serve as a *paik* during the Muharram for a period of years, usually three to five, but sometimes for a lifetime. These refrain from salt, animal food, and all luxuries during this period. They wear small bells as a girdle around the waist, have a small, cone-shaped turban and carry a yak's tail in their hands while they run as messengers from one *akhada* to another. In Darbhanga, it is said that most of the paraphernalia used in the Muḥarram

[1] The Statesman, Delhi Ed., Feb. 21, 1940.
[2] Birdwood, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

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is owned by Hindus.[1] In Baroda various castes of Hindus regard the tazias as sacred and perform various actions in fulfillment of vows, such as passing under the tazias and throwing themselves on the road in front of them.[2]

A correspondent to *The Statesman*, Calcutta, writing from south India (probably the Deccan), states that Hindus from all castes, excepting Brahmans, call the alams pirs and have incorporated them into their religion. The *'alam* of 'Ali is called *Lal Sahib* and the other two are known as riders, " Vendi Sowar (Silver Rider), Ankus Sowar and Tangalur Sowar." The origin of these names is uncertain, but these three alams are " looked upon and treated with the same reverences as the village Goddesses."

Here, too, is the custom of making vows to be fulfilled at Muḥarram. Women wanting children throw themselves before the alams that they may be beaten with the peacock *chauri* (fly-flapper), and so have their desire realized. Children born thereafter, are named Hoosana, Husseinna, Fakira, Fatima Bhai, Nanchiamma, etc., and are in fact, " dedicated to the *Pirs* and annually during the time of Mohurrum fulfill their parents' vow and are called for the time *Fakirs*."

Such was the case of Sailu, a boy of the weaver caste. His grandfather had suffered from rheumatism and vowed to the Pirs that he would give a present at the next Muḥarram if he got well. He obtained relief at once, but was unable to keep his vow. The rheumatism at once returned, but again ceased when a new vow was made. He fulfilled his vow at the next Muḥarram and since then one member of the family has acted as faqir at Muḥarram. One year Sailu's family had to prepare at their own cost three pots of panakum or *jagari* syrup and one pot of rice. The food was taken to the *'ashur khāna* and after puja before the Pirs two pots of panakum and half the rice was given to the Muhammadan in charge, and the rest was distributed to the Hindus.

On the tenth day the alams were taken in procession to the village tank. The pole of Lal Sahib was fixed to a palanquin ; the others were carried by Hindu boy faqirs.

> The five Mohammedans (all Sunnis) *who comprise the total of two villages*, accompanied the procession, headed by *chamar* drummers, in their best clothes. . . .
> On reaching the tank the *Pirs* were *undressed* (sic), the poles

[1] CIR, Bengal and Orissa, 1911, V, p. 252.
[2] CIR, Baroda, 1911, XVI, p. 69.

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> and the emblems washed, and the whole paraphernalia put in a box to await the next festival. The box was carried back in procession and deposited in the *ashur khana*.
> There is no doubt in my mind that the Hindus reverence the *Pirs* and claim them as part of their religion, and during Mohurrum look upon the Mohammedans as presiding priests of those deities.[1]

The Mahabir Dal procession in Bihar, which formerly was of little importance, was reorganized a few years ago

> to compensate low-caste Hindus for the abstention from the Mohurrum which the Arya Samajists had imposed upon them. Its most objectionable feature from the Mohammedan point of view is its close imitation of the Mohurrum emblem and procedure.[2]

Then follows an account of a clash between these people with the "Mohammedans who had taken the greatest exception to the celebration," when not less than ten Muhammadans were beaten to death!

In Baroda, the Gaekwar, a Hindu, patronizes the Muḥarram festival, and in Gwalior, the Maharaja, also a Hindu, annually leads the Muḥarram procession in his capital city.[3] Concerning the origin of this custom in Gwalior I was told this story: "Some fifty years or so ago the Maharaja was sick. In his illness he saw Imam Ḥusain in a dream, and was told that he would get well if he would hold a *majlis* in Husain's name and distribute alms. He also saw the face of the man whom he should call to preside at the *majlis*. On his recovery, he instituted a search for this man who was resident in Benares. Since that time this individual, or one of his family, has been employed by the Gwalior State for the particular business of conducting the *majlis* at Gwalior. He has been generously rewarded for his duties. The ruler who started the custom is said himself to have helped in carrying the tazias, but the present Maharaja is satisfied to ride on a beautiful horse as he leads the procession on the tenth day. The State Treasury defrays the expenses of the festival.[4]

[1] Hindus and the Muharram, News and Notes, Sept. 1926, pp. 67/68.
[2] The Statesman (Overseas Ed.,) May 23, 1929, p. 2.
[3] IGI, 1908, Ajmere and Merwara, V, p. 148.
[4] Oman, J. C., The Brahmans, Theists and Muslims of India, Pt. III, Ch. I.

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CHAPTER XII

The Shiite Community Today

For some decades the decennial census made a separate enumeration of Shias and Sunnis in some of the Provinces. In 1911 and 1921 most Provinces and States were included but the results were unsatisfactory. For example, in 1921, in the census for Bihar and Orissa, 3711 Shias were enumerated, but in the report of the Superintendent of Census Operations in the Province we read that

> It is certain that these figures are not nearly complete, and the reason is that many Shias refused to record themselves as such.[1]

That they would refuse to do so was clearly stated the day before the census was taken by a Shiite member in the Legislative Council at Patna. An estimate made at that time placed the probable figure at 17000, or nearly five times the census enumeration. For Patna city the estimate was for 10000 against a census figure of 1000.[1] In 1931 and 1941 the effort to make a separate enumeration of Shias was generally discontinued. We are therefore without any reliable figures for the size of the community and must fall back upon estimates for what they are worth.

In April 1945, Mr. Hooseinbhoy Lalljee, a Shiite member of the Central Legislative Assembly, cabled to Lord Wavell, the Viceroy, who was then in England, on behalf of " twenty million Shia Muslims of India."[2] This brought forth the offer of a prize of one thousand rupees to anyone who would prove " statistically " that Shias numbered even five million,

> while as a matter of fact, a study of the census figures will show that they are hardly two millions in the whole length and breadth of India.[3]

The writer of a " leader " in *The Pioneer* of October 25, 1944, claimed that the Shia Political Conference " champions the cause of Shias all over India, estimated to be no less than twenty per

[1] CIR, 1921, VII, (Bihar and Orissa), p. 134.
[2] The Pioneer, April 13, 1945, p. 3.
[3] *Ibid.*, April 20, 1945, p. 6.

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cent of the Muslim community." Another Shiite leader claimed that "forty per cent of the Muslim population of the Punjab was Shia."[1] Ferrar and Titus, using the 1921 census, estimate the Shiite population as above five million, but the census is admittedly incomplete.[2]

The difficulty of reaching an estimate may be illustrated. The Moplahs of Malabar are spoken of commonly as Sunnis of the Shāfi'i school.

> In South Malabar they are divided into two divisions, preferring allegiance either to the Valia Jaratingal Tangal of Ponnani or the Kundotti Tangal. The followers of the latter are said by those of the former to be Shiahs, but they themselves claim to be Sunnis.[3]

Another instance is found in North Gujarat, where many Sayyids

> are Shiahs at heart, though all profess to be Sunnis. The Shiah Sayads form a distinct community, their chief bond of union being the secret celebration of Shiah religious rites.[4]

Distribution

SHIAS are scattered throughout India. According to the 1921 census they are least numerous in Assam, most numerous in the Punjab and Delhi, and in Baroda find their highest proportion in the total Muslim community. Where in the past Shiite courts existed there is the probability of a noticeable, even if small, residue of Shiite population. Friends in the Deccan told me that while the Shias were not numerous in the Hyderabad State, yet a large number, perhaps half of the jagirdars in the Hyderabad-Vikarabad section, were Shias. Similarly, many of the taalluqdars in Oudh are Shias. Fyzabad, as an old capital, has a large and influential Shiite community in the District. A considerable community of Shias at Amroha in the United Provinces, may be traced to the fact that one of the emperors gave a grant of land to an officer under whose shelter ancestors of these Shias gathered. This could be duplicated in many places.

As many Persians were attached to the Shiite kingdoms of the Deccan, so "mercenaries still come as recruits to the Persian regiments of the Nawab of Cambay."[5]

[1] *Ibid.*, May 28, 1945, p. 7.
[2] Gibb, H. A. R., Whither Islam, p. 183; Titus, M. T., Indian Islam, p. 238.
[3] Zwemer, S., The Indian Standard, quoted in N. and N., Aug. 1928.
[4] Castes and Tribes of Bombay, III, p. 325.
[5] Arnold, T. W., India, EI, II, p. 480.

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The Hazaras are a sturdy race of mountaineers in Afghanistan, dominantly of Mongolian blood and speaking a Persian dialect. They are Shias. For long they were practically independent, but about 1895 were subjugated by the Amir. Many are found throughout the Punjab, sometimes in seasonal employment, but many as permanent residents. In 1904 the enlistment of a battalion in the British India Army was sanctioned.[1]

Our reference to costly Imambaras at Hugli and Murshidabad, bespeaks the presence at those places of Shiite communities albeit they have dwindled. Murshidabad, formerly known as Makhsudabad, was in fact the last Muslim capital of Bengal before Calcutta attained that position under the East India Company. Several of the Nawabs who ruled there have been professing Shias. Notwithstanding the great decrease in the Muslim population of the city, including also the Shias, Shiite practices continue at Muḥarram and other times.

Jaunpur

"Owing to the long continuance of the Shiite court at Jaunpur," there is a larger proportion of Shias now resident there than in any other district of the United Provinces except Lucknow.[2] This city is some thirty-five miles north of Benares. It was built by Firoz Shah Tughlaq as an outpost of his empire. In 1394 he sent Khwāja Jahān, a powerful eunuch as his deputy to Jaunpur with the title of *Mālik al Sharqī*, or Lord of the East, to hold that section of the empire. When Timur's incursion all but destroyed the Delhi government, two adopted sons of Khwāja Jahān, Mubārak and Ibrāhīm, seized the opportunity to establish their own kingdom, until in 1479 one of their successors, Ḥusain Shāh Sharqī, was compelled to recognize the authority of Bahlol Lodi of Delhi. All the members of this Sharqī dynasty were patrons of learning. Under Ibrāhīm, Jaunpur came to be known as "The Shiraz of India,"[3] and this city sheltered many who had fled from Delhi. The Lodi conquerors ordered the great buildings of the dynasty to be destroyed.

> Imperial palaces whose tops reached the skies were in a short time annihilated and royal mansions equal in splendour to the

[1] EI, Hazara; IGI, 1908, XIII, p. 85; 1905, V, p. 47.
[2] IGI, 1886, VII, p. 154.
[3] Cam. Hist. of India, III, p. 259.

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planet Saturn, were now trodden under the hoofs of war horses.[1]

Fortunately, not all the great buildings of this brief dynasty, with their distinctive Pathan architecture, were destroyed. The Atala mosque finished in 1408, and the Jama' Masjid are the most striking of these. Smaller mosques in partial ruins, which had been built for saints who had taken up their residence in Jaunpur,[2] are also to be seen.

Throughout the Mughal period Jaunpur continued to be an important outpost of the empire, and descendants of Ḥusain Sharqī held pensions and lucrative jagirs, which were usually renewed from emperor to emperor. Bahādur Shāh, who was, as we have seen, a Shia, granted new privileges. Under Muḥammad Shāh and Nawāb Sa'adat Khān, these were revoked and some villages near the city were given to the descendants " to defray the expenses of repairing the mosques and the monastery and to support the students and travellers."[3]

Rampur State

The Rampur State in the United Provinces is ruled by a Nawab who professes the Shiite faith, though the Shias are not numerous within the State. He is a descendant of a Rohilla named 'Ali Muḥammad, who after 1745 received a grant of Rohilkhand for services rendered. On his death the estate was divided among four sons. Rampur fell to the youngest, Faizullā Khān. When, for failure to meet certain obligations the grants to the others were absorbed in Oudh, Faizullā Khān was permitted to retain his, and his family was confirmed in its possession when in 1801 Rohilkhand passed to the British.[4] The family was not originally of the Shiite persuasion but under the influence of the rulers of Oudh accepted that faith.[5] The present Nawab succeeded to the *masnad* on the death of his father in 1930. He has done much to remodel the administrative machinery of the State and to promote the welfare of his subjects. He is now actively interested in the establishment of a Shia College Technical Institute for which funds are rapidly being collected.

[1] Pogson, R. W., History of Jaunpur, Tr. from Persian of Fuqeer Khyr ood Deen Moohumud, p. 18.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 54 ff.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 22.
[4] IGI, 1908, XXI, p. 184.
[5] Najmul Ghani Khan, Madhahib al Islam, p. 444.

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THE SHIITE COMMUNITY TO-DAY

Tribes

It is not unusual to find sectarian lines following racial or tribal lines. Along the North-West Frontier the Turis are all Shias. In the upper Kurram, in Kohat, all of the Bangash tribe are Shias excepting the Bushera and Dandar Bangash, while in the lower Kurram all Bangash are Sunnis.[1] Amongst all these Shias the whole month of Muḥarram, but especially the first ten days, is devoted to mourning for Ḥasan and Ḥusain ; nothing else is so important. With them, the *majlis* is known as *mahfil* ; marthiyas and self-flagellation mark Muḥarram. In the Dera Ismail Khan district, Jats, Sayyids, and Ghilzis are Shias.[2]

Over a lakh of Shias are found in the Laddakh district of Kashmir. The Chachot colony in this same section has been formed by Balti immigrants from Skardu.[3]

In Baluchistan the only tribesmen who called themselves Shias in the 1911 census were certain sections of the Dombki Baluch, but because to be a Shia in Baluchistan is " something unspeakably abominable in itself " they called themselves Jafaris.[4]

The Zaidīya

Canon Sell writes that the Zaidīya sect is also found in India and speaks of a much respected leader as belonging to that sect.[5] H. A. Rose also writes : "A Sayyid family in Multan is sometimes called Zaidi as descended from Zaid Shahīd, grandson of the Imam Husain."[6] The writer is referring particularly to the Zaidī sub-order of the Chishtiya, an order of Sufis, and it is doubtful that the family concerned is connected with the Zaidīya sect. In any case, the number of the Zaidīya in India is so few that we need not dwell at length upon their tenets or history.

The sect receives its name from Zaid, son of 'Ali Zain al 'Abidīn, who was a younger brother of Imam Muḥammad al Bāqir. The sect is called by Strothmann " the practical group of the Shi'a."[7] They accept the first four Imams, but Zaid did not agree with his brother in meekly accepting an Imamate without the powers

[1] Rose, H. A., Glossary, pp. 574/575.
[2] CIR, 1911, XIII, N.W.F. Prov., p. 72.
[3] CIR 1911, XX, Kashmir, Pt. I, p. 95.
[4] CIR 1911, IV, Baluchistan, Pt. 1, p. 56.
[5] Sell, Canon, Ithna 'Ashariya, p. 220.
[6] Rose, H. A., Glossary, p. 529.
[7] Strothmann, R., Al Zaidiya, EI.

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of the *khalīfa*. He believed in an ecclesiastical State and he insisted in leading a rebellion in which he was killed. His son Yahyā succeeded him and was also killed in a similar venture.

While stipulating that the Imamate must be of the Ahl al Bait, they do not distinguish between the sons of Ḥasan and Ḥusain for this purpose. They reject the principles of primogeniture and *naṣṣ*. Each candidate must be ready to demonstrate his ability to be a warrior in both defensive and offensive combat. Therefore there can be no child Imam, nor any concealed Imam. This insistence on the ability to fight means that a stronger warrior may displace an Imam already recognized, and that has happened. A further qualification for the Imam is that he possess the requisite knowledge.[1]

The Zaidīya, for many decades, controlled a small kingdom in Dailam on the Caspian Sea. From 288/901 until now they have ruled a small kingdom in al Yaman, whose boundaries have greatly fluctuated. In 'Iraq they were never strong enough to establish a kingdom, though they did have influence on the *khalīfa*, and once hoped with 'Ali al Riḍa as *khalīfa* to be able to put their activist 'Alid programme into force.[2] Zaidiyas stress some of the features of the *Ithnā 'Asharīya*, but they differ in many ways in religious and social practices. Among these last, we may note that they do not recognize *mut'a* marriage.

Shia-Sufis

Reference has earlier been made to the intimate relations that exist between Sufism and Shiism. No effort has been made in this study to develop that relationship, but by way of illustrating how intimate this may be, we take the Jalāli Order, which is an off-shoot of the Suhrawardi. It is found in the Punjab ; probably elsewhere in India.[1] This order seems somehow to be connected with the Bektāshi Order which in Albania and Turkey has the status of a sect.[3] In some of its doctrines the Bektashis are in agreement with the 'Ali Ilāhis and the Qizilbāsh. They are extreme Shias, reject the first khalifas, and place 'Ali in a trinity with Allah and Muḥammad. Besides the twelve Imams, Fāṭima "Hadice," and Khadijah, all of whom they recognize as sinless and worthy of highest praise, they also reverence the Fourteen

[1] *Ibid.*
[2] Strothmann, R., Muhammad b Ali al Rida, EI.
[3] On this Order, see : Rose, *op. cit.*, pp. 553/556 ; Tschudi, Bektash, EI.

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Pure Innocents. These were all children of Imams who were martyred while very young. These twenty-eight, a number equal to the number of letters in the alphabet, are thought of as special manifestations of God.[1] The dress of the Order includes a cap made of twelve bits of cloth corresponding to the twelve Imams.

Political and Social Organizations

Acting under the conviction that it is necessary for any community to organize both to achieve its own advancement and to pull its weight in society, the Shias have their All-India Shia Conference ; organized in 1907 and meeting annually. It is non-political. It devotes its attention chiefly to organizations, to schools, hostels, orphanages and to other institutions or causes that might be called community-building. It also expresses its opinion concerning legislation. For instance, it has expressed its view against the Sarda Act which seeks to restrict marriages of girls under the age of fourteen, and it has favoured joint electorates in all elections with reserved seats for Muslims. It watches legislation regarding *waqfs*, or trusts.

There is also an All-India Shī'a Political Conference to which Shias may belong. This has usually been a pro-Congress body. Some Shias are members of the Muslim League in purely political matters. In some Provinces, as in Bihar, United Provinces, and Punjab, there are Provincial Shī'a Conferences, and in some cases district organizations also, but few of the latter function efficiently.

As the demand of the Muslim League for the recognition of Pakistan has increased, the Shias' demands for protection as a minority Muslim community have grown stronger. The community appears unwilling to trust itself to a Sunni regime without very definite safeguards for its religious freedom, and a guarantee that it will receive due representations in ministries, legislative bodies and local boards. Replying to a representation of the working committee of the Shī'a Political Conference, Mr. Jinnah, President of the Muslim League, assured the Shias that the League stood for fair-play and being confident that " the majority of the members are with the League " he refused to discuss any safeguards.[2] The natural consequence of such an attitude has

[1] Birge, J. K., The Bektashi Order of Dervishes, pp. 145/149.
[2] The Pioneer, Oct. 24, 1944.

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been to make the Shias more community-conscious with increasing insistence on their rights to representation now through their own representatives, either nominated or elected, in all places where their numbers can at all justify it.

The Shias have an Intermediate College in Lucknow, a few high schools elsewhere, and hostels and orphanages. They also have in Lucknow a school for training preachers known as the *Madrasat al Wā'izīn*. The Maharaja of Mahmudabad, a leader among the Ta'alluqdars of Oudh, has long been a patron of this institution. Connected with it is the *Muaiyad al 'Ūlūm* Association which publishes books and tracts setting forth Shiite doctrines.

In Lucknow the Shias have a committee known as the *Tanzīm al Mu'minīn* which directs efforts for the more effective organization of the Shias when any communal issue is at stake. It was this organization that provided leadership in the Shī'a-Sunni conflicts a few years ago.

Shī'a-Sunni Relations

To see the whole picture of the Shiite community to-day, it is necessary to make a brief statement concerning recent events in Lucknow which show how sensitive both the Shias and Sunnis still are concerning matters that are really very old. It has been a time-honoured custom for Sunnis to recite praises of the rightly-guided *khulafā* in private, in mosques, and at times in public procession. This is known as *madḥ ṣaḥāba*. It has likewise been the custom for Shias to recite comminations called *tabarru'* against the first three *khulafā*, whom they consider usurpers of 'Ali's rights. So long as both communities followed these practices in private, or in mosques where the communities do not mix, there was no grievance. But in public, either practice stirred emotions and opposition from the other side, especially if it was done on certain holidays. Between 1904 and 1908 conflicts became so frequent that the Government of the United Provinces appointed a committee to study the situation. In 1909 Government forbade both *madḥ ṣaḥāba* and *tabarru'* in public on three days: 'Ashura, the tenth of Muḥarram; Chihlam, the fortieth day of mourning; and the twenty-first of Ramaḍān, which was the day of 'Ali's death. The order did not forbid the public practice of either custom on other days, but required that permission for such practice should first be obtained, as it would be an innovation; and permission might be refused if the magistrate feared breach of the peace.

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THE SHIITE COMMUNITY TO-DAY

Things went quietly until in 1935, when two Sunnis publicly recited *madḥ ṣaḥāba* and were arrested. On 'Ashūrā in 1936, again two men deliberately violated the order and at Chihlam of the same year some fourteen were arrested for a like offence. The Sunnis then asked permission for a procession on *Bārā Wafāt* which is celebrated as the Prophet's birthday. This fell on the third of June. Permission was refused ; the procession was postponed, but again permission was refused. Then the Sunnis conceived weekly processions, every Friday, a procedure requiring permission for which they made no request. These came under a weekly interdict. In November and December the Governor met with deputations of both parties. Every effort was made for a friendly settlement of the dispute. When these failed the Government appointed a committee headed by Judge Allsopp of the High Court of Allahabad to study the whole situation. They recommended a continuance of the practice commenced in 1909, and the Government issued orders accordingly. This did not satisfy either group, but agitation subsided.[1]

In the spring of 1939 the Government of the United Provinces gave permission for *madḥ ṣaḥāba* to be recited on *Bārā Wafāt*, the second of May. This led many Shias to court arrest by reciting *tabarru'*. Thirty thousand Sunnis are said to have gathered at their *'Idgah*. The only speaker on the occasion " congratulated the Sunnis for having won their right after thirty-two years of struggle."[2] Complete military and police preparations had been made, but Shias, following their leaders' advice, stayed inside and there was no disturbance. But—agitation greatly increased. Clashes of both sides became common. Some were killed, many injured. The Ahrars, a party of nationalist-minded Muslims, supported the Sunnis. The Khaksars, another Muslim party ready for action, threatened to decide the dispute if others could not. They were stopped at the borders of the Province by police.

During the period of these communal clashes Shias from Bengal, Bihar, Bombay, Central Provinces, North-West Frontier Province and the Punjab came to the help of their co-religionists and courted arrest.[3] As many as ten thousand are said to have come from the Punjab.[4] During the whole period about seventeen thousand Shias courted arrest,[5] and many thousands of Sunnis.

[1] Report of the Allsopp Committee, 1937, (in Urdu).
[2] The Statesman, May 5, 1939.
[3] The Statesman, July 1, 1939, p. 10.
[4] *Ibid.*, Aug. 18, 1939.
[5] *Ibid.*, Aug. 29, 1939.

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As late as March 1945 " thirty-two Muslims were arrested for contravening the ban on the recitation of *Madḥ Ṣaḥāba* on the occasion of *Bārā Wafāt.*"[1]

The hope for the future is in those leaders of both communities who have consistently urged forbearance and tolerance, always looking to the welfare of the larger whole rather than the victory of a part. In that spirit alone will the finest progress of still larger units be achieved.

Shiite Shrines

Pilgrimages to shrines of Imamzadas and saints is a recognized source of benefit for Shias. They do not consider this as worship.[2] The term *imāmzāda* is used to designate both a descendant of an Imam, whether a few or many generations removed, and also for the grave of such a descendant. The practice of resorting to such shrines is extremely common, for praying to saints and making vows is very widely accepted. Shrines so used are of three kinds : (*a*) where the saint is buried ; (*b*) a site where the saint had lived, or where his body was temporarily interred until removal to Kerbala, and (*c*) places where imams or saints have appeared to favoured persons.[3]

Anything like a list of such shrines would be beyond the compass of this study, but an example of its frequency is found among the Turis of Kurram for whom there is a list of twenty-five lesser shrines, and five of greater importance.[4] One of these last is for a descendant of Imam Zain al 'Abidīn, two are for descendants of Imam Mūsā Kāẓim. The descendants of a fourth call themselves Ḥusainī Sayyids which doubtless means that the saint claimed descent from Imam Ḥusain. Not far removed from this place are two other shrines visited annually by Kurram Wazirs which were erected for two saints who were from the Ḥusainī Sayyids, Pir Sabiq and Pir Ramdīn. But the shrines are never visited by Shias, though Sunnis and Hindus resort to them. Each one of these shrines is recognized by some group or groups of Turis which accept the saint as an ancestor, and stories of miracles which each performed during his life, with other miracles of healing for pilgrims, are current.

[1] The Hindustan, Times March 1, 1945.
[2] Badshah Husain, A. F., Shiah Islam, Mos. W. XXX, 1941, p. 191.
[3] Rose, H. A., Glossary, p. 576.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 577/586.

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THE SHIITE COMMUNITY TO-DAY

Shiite Holidays

The following list of the holy days kept by the Shias represents those most widely observed.[1] The list could be enlarged by including minor days connected with one or the other of the Imams.[2]

Muḥarram	1–10	In memory of Imam Ḥusain.
Safar	10	*Chihlam.* Also for Imam Ḥusain.
	24	*'Id al 'Umar.* Anniversary of the death of 'Umar. With Shias this is a day of rejoicing.
	27	*Char Shamba Suri.* Shias consider Safar as an unlucky month and observe this day in feasting in the hope that evil may remain away from their homes. In Hyderabad it is called the day of judgment, and baths are taken the day before. *Bārā Wafāt* The day is also kept for this in memory of a temporary recovery in the Prophet's last illness.
Rajab	13	*'Id Milād al Ḥaḍrat 'Ali.* The birthday of 'Ali.
Sha'bān	14	The birthday of the Imam Mahdī. With Sunnis this date is known as *Shab i Barāt.* The fate of every Muslim for the next year is fixed on this night. It is therefore spent in wakefulness.
Ramaḍān	19	The day 'Ali was wounded.
	21	The day 'Ali died. On both days food is cooked and after the *Fatiha* has been said it is distributed.
Shawwāl	1	*'Id al Fitr,* or the *Ramaḍān 'Id.* Shias observe this day one day sooner than the Sunnis, and they do not go with Sunnis to the *'Idgah.* It is a day of rejoicing ; for new clothes, and the giving of alms.
Dhu'l Hijja	10	*'Id al Aḍha,* also called popularly *'Id al Duha,* or *Bakr 'Id.*
	18	*'Id al Ghadīr,* the day of 'Ali's designation as *waṣī.*

[1] Glossary, p. 576 ; Faridi, F. L., Bom. Gaz., IX, Pt. 2, pp. 139 ff. Enthoven, R. E., T & C Bombay, III, pp. 92/95.
[2] Titus, *op. cit.*, 246/247.

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Shiite Law and Customs

Shiite social customs, as Shiite law, differ from Sunni practice in many ways. At the present time Shiite law is administered "only in suits regarding marriage and inheritance and other collateral matters." where the parties are Shias.[1] Those interested in Shiite social customs will find extensive material available in the books of Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali, G. A. Herklots, Fazalullah Luftullah Faridi,[2] and N. B. E. Bailie, as also in numerous government publications.

The Future of Indian Shiism

The Shiite community has produced some outstanding leaders of fine character and outstanding ability, who have taken front place in national life. But one gets the impression, looking at the community as a whole, that it is backward. One reason for this is that communalism has left every religious community largely dependant upon its own resources, and the Shiite community, being scattered and relatively poor, has been too limited to provide for material advance. But a more important reason is inherent in the sectarian doctrine of *taqīya* which has kept Shias from declaring themselves. This doctrine carries within it the seeds of self-destruction. It is impossible to read of the fierce and repeated persecutions that the community has experienced from the orthodox majority without feeling an admiration for its power to survive that has so often been proved. But unless the distinctive tenets of any group are of such worth as to match a desire to survive with an equal courage to declare the intrinsic worth of its great principles, there must be inner loss. There is manifest inconsistency in the Shiite community's exalting as exemplary the steadfastness of Imam Ḥusain against tremendous odds, and applauding his courage to resist as highly moral, while at the same time it continues to teach its youth to conceal their deepest faith and the essential truth of their religion, even to the point of simulating acceptance of an opponent's religion. Truth makes free ; dissimulation restricts. The very attitudes that will explain the failure to secure an approximate accurate census of

[1] Baillie, N. B. E., Digest of Moohummudan Law Imameea, xi, xii.
[2] Faridi, F. L., *op. cit.*, IX, Pt. 3, Gujarat population.

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the community, in part explain its continued weakness, if not decadence.

Companion to *taqīya* in its ability to destroy the moral fibre of the community is the recognition of *mut'a* marriage as legal. Whatever the truth regarding its origin, Shias may well join with other Shī'a and their own enlightened leaders in denouncing the practice.

Shiism possesses doctrines of superior worth in its recognition of man's moral freedom to act and God's grace toward all men. In strange contrast to these truths two facts stand out : first, that Shias, much more than Sunnis, are inclined to an exclusiveness usually connected with caste ; and second, an unwillingness to follow their leaders into liberalism. In theory, Shiism has another advantage over Sunnism in that the latter is bound by dogma of an eternal and uncreated *Quran* and the practices of the Prophet as set forth in the Sunna. By declaring the *Quran* to be created, Shiism has opened the way to a freedom of interpretation that may be adjusted to advancing life. By allegiance to the Imamate which they declare has all the prerogatives of the Prophet for interpreting and legislating, in order to bring to fruition the religion he brought, Shiism opened the way for release from a *sunna* and *shar'a*, outgrown by a world that has moved ahead of the period in which it was proclaimed, and which now clamours for larger freedoms.

If the Mujtahids are in fact the instruments of a living Imam, they should be the leaders in the development of the potentialities within Shiite doctrines for a fuller and freer life. But to all appearances the Mujtahids have failed to meet this opportunity. They appear to be bound to the past, not less than the Sunni 'Ulama ; almost oblivious of onflowing currents in an advancing world. They have been both too position-conscious and too community-conscious. The way to release is in the spirit of the Usulis, who, challenged by something ahead and beyond, refuse to be fettered by the decisions of any Mujtahid, and insist that the true *ijtihād* is the God-given right for an individual to arrive at his own judgments. The need of the individual is a universal need, a sense of a Presence and a Guide, through whose help that judgment may be right.

Not as a community apart, but as a leavening lump within the Muslim whole, Shiism can make its contribution and attain its destiny. It is a tribute to the community in India that it has inspired an unusual number of men who have risen to leader-

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ship ; it is a warning that these same leaders do not find their place as Shias ; rather in their leadership Shiism recedes and the distinctive tenets of the sects are obscured. Shiism may well think less of its own community, and dropping lesser emphases proclaim anew as it did in times past, the major truths that distinguish it and are the essential reasons for its being.

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CHAPTER XIII

The Rise of Ismailism

In our account of the Imams of the *Ithnā 'Asharīya* we referred to the death of Imam Ja'far al Ṣādiq as the occasion of the greatest schism in Shiism.[1] It is necessary now to return to that period and trace the history of the Ismā'īlīya for the Khojas and the Bohras in India stem from this branch of Shiism. They share the history of the *Ithnā 'Asharīya* to this point and recognize the Imams up to and including Ja'far al Ṣādiq as their own. From here they diverge. They reject Musa Kāẓim, but continue the Imamate through Ismā'īl, another of Ja'far's sons.

We have seen how the years which marked the decline of the Umaiyad dynasty witnessed expanding activity in Shiism which was, in fact, a prime cause of the decline. The cruel murder of Imam Ḥusain had stirred the Shias as nothing else could have done, but they still remained divided and continued to divide. The 'regulars' as we may speak of those who just followed, accepted 'Ali Ausaṭ, a son of Ḥusain as their Imam. A more restless group formed around Muḥammad ibn al Ḥanafīya, son of Ali by a woman of the Banu Ḥanīfa. She is usually spoken of as a captive who came into 'Ali's possession, but Ibn Khallikan records the statement

> that she was a black colour and a native of Sind; that she had been a servant to a member of the tribe of Hanifa, and that she did not belong to it by birth.[2]

Muḥammad would seem to have been a person of force and ability, but according to a story given in *Ṣaḥīfat al 'Abidīn*,[3] he took no active part after the Black Stone, *al ḥajar al aswad*, in the Ka'ba at Mecca had declared that 'Ali was the true Imam. However, the Kaisānīya who had claimed the Imamate for Muḥammad continued to use his name. His son, Abū Hāshim, might have had fewer inhibitions but the *khalīfa* Hisham took no chances, and had him poisoned. But before his death, Abū Hāshim is said

[1] Chapter VI.
[2] Ibn Khallikan, (de Slane), p. 574.
[3] Sell, Canon, Ithna 'Ashariya, p. 11.

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to have transferred his rights as Imam to Muḥammad ibn 'Ali ibn 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abbās, the leader of the growing Abbasid party. With the strength of the Kaisānīya joined to his, Muḥammad immediately intensified propaganda for "the family of the Prophet." The Shias supposed that this expression had reference to the descendants of the Prophet through 'Ali, and gave him their support. They were disillusioned when in A.H. 132, the campaign crowned with victory, the Umaiyads were succeeded by Abū al 'Abbās as the first of the new Abbasid line, named for an uncle of the Prophet, and so forsooth a member of "the family of the Prophet." This triumph left all Shiite groups dissatisfied, whether the Kaisānīya, whether followers of Alid claimants through Fāṭima. Their end gained, it was only a short time before the Abbasids were persecuting the Shī'a as cruelly as had the Umaiyads.

Shiite political activity had been opportunistic and it had failed. But in the religious, social and philosophical *milieu* of that period, Shiism found its most pregnant opportunity for expansion. The prime reason for its existence was a religious one. Behind such drives for power as those the Zaidīya, the Kaisānīya and other Alid groups had made, was the religious idea that the leader in religion, the Imam, *ought* also to be the leader in the state, as had been the Prophet. If Shī'a differed as to the person of the Imam, or the method of his selection, they agreed in this and were driven by the same urge, somehow to bring about "what ought to be." Duplicity, hope destroyed, cruel persecution seemed only to whet the intensity of the devotion of the masses to the idea that the Imam, or the Mahdī, would remove oppression and tyranny and "fill the earth with righteousness and justice." Lewis describes the situation as a "revolt of the depressed classes, Persian and Semite alike."[1] There was widespread oppression on the one hand, with child-like faith and expectation of a messiah on the other. The conditions provided an opportunity for agitators and real leaders, for there was an assurance of a ready following. It was this opportunity that revolutionary Shī'a seized, not comprehensively, probably not fully comprehendingly, and certainly not unitedly. Their activities gave us Ismailism.

One of the early, definitely Shiite risings was that led by al Mukhtār, who seized possession of Kufa in A.H. 66. This city had been built by the *khalīfa* 'Umar, but had always had a strong

[1] Lewis, B., The Origins of Isma'ilism, p. 92; cf. also p. 24.

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Shiite tendency though it had earned for itself the name of deserting its leaders in crises. At this time the community in Kufa was under Sulaimān ibn Surad. Al Mukhtār did not join with him, but preaching that he was the emissary of Muḥammad ibn al Ḥanafīya, he gathered his own following, and gradually by skill and luck superseded Sulaimān, establishing his own authority at Kufa, and then rapidly extended his power through Mesopotamia and the eastern provinces. He was at once faced with the necessity of a programme. Should he build with the Arabs, the conquering race, or with the Mawāli, among whom Kaisān was a leader ? These Mawāli were converts in conquered territory whose only way of being accepted as Muslims was to be attached as clients to some Arab tribe, but then

> far from obtaining the equal rights which they coveted, and which, according to the principles of Islam, they should have enjoyed, the Mawali were treated by their aristocratic patrons with contempt, and had to submit to every kind of social degradation, while instead of being exempted from the capitation tax paid by non-Moslems, they still remained liable to ever increasing exactions of Government officials. And these ' clients ', be it remembered, were not ignorant serfs, but men whose culture was acknowledged by the Arabs themselves —men who formed the backbone of the influential learned class and ardently prosecuted those studies, Divinity and Jurisprudence, which were then held in highest esteem.[1]

Al Mukhtār intuitively chose the *Mawāli* and

> indeed the favour which (he) showed to the *Mawali* who formed his real support, threatened to overthrow the system on which the political and economic supremacy of the Arabs over the native population was based.[2]

As an evidence of his Shiite proclivities, when he had secured his position, al Mukhtār put to death all who had had a share in the death of Ḥusain, or who had failed to defend him.

In its rapid conquests Islam had mastered peoples of various faiths, but it had not weaned them from all the beliefs they had previously held. It is not surprising, then, that Shiism, in its appeal to the Mawāli and to people of other faiths, drew into itself from those whom it championed or converted, elements of religious faith which until now were entirely foreign to Islam, both among Sunnis and Shias.

In the case of the Kaisānīya for instance, distinctly new ideas

[1] Nicholson, R. A., A Literary History of the Arabs, p. 247/248.
[2] Vida, G. L. D., Al Mukhtar, EI.

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are introduced in the claim that a deceased Imam has not died but is concealed and will return ; in the doctrine of metempsychosis, that the spirit of one person may pass at his death into another person ; that an Imam has a right to transfer his rights to another even to a non-Alid. Al Mukhtār has been credited with the invention of the doctrine of the Mahdī, or at least to have given it the stamp that became the type in Imāmī doctrine when he applied it to Muḥammad ibn Ḥanafīya.[1] Among the Kaisānīya there is

> an echo of a cult followed especially by some Yaman clans and described as Saba'i, the worship of an alleged chair of 'Ali's which was compared with the ark of the covenant and also used as an oracle.[2]

Elsewhere we read of this as the " worship of the empty chair."[3] This is but an indication of the kind of practices possessing definite religious interest which took place in Shiite groups at this time of rapid development.

Two by-products of these inter-faith connections within Shiism were frequently in evidence. One was a quality of tolerance toward people of other faiths. The fanaticism of Islam came to be replaced in many places with a spirit of catholicity and tolerant religious policy. The other was a swing towards communism. Their enemies accused these sects, or groups, of accepting community of women as well as sharing of possessions. That some did the latter is true, but that they practised the former is doubtful.[4]

The historical records of this period are almost entirely from Sunni sources. The Sunni authors very naturally were horrified at innovations which were considered so violently in conflict with the Quran and the Sunna, and attributed them to foreign religions. In describing the new sects, they recalled the best-known heretics of other times like Mazdak and imputed to followers of of the new sects who adopted some of their tenets all of their worst tenets also.

Still another factor that greatly influenced Shiism in these formative days was the opening of the Arab world to the philosophy and science of other countries, and especially to that of Greece. Shiism shared with Mutazilism in the very first awakening of

[1] *Ibid.*
[2] Kaisaniya, EI.
[3] Vida, al Mukhtar, EI.
[4] Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

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Muslim philosophic reflections at this contact, and while the Mutazilite school touched both Sunni and Shī'a, its influences have been permanently imbedded in more of Shiite doctrines, and in the philosophy of its sects. The impetus it gave to the reading of works of foreign authors opened a new world, and led to the opening of universities, and the patronage of savants.

Ismā'īl ibn Ja'far al Ṣādiq

The fissiparous tendencies in Shiism and the ferment which had, indeed, affected the whole of Islam, were strongest in the decade preceding the death of Ja'far al Ṣādiq in A.H. 148. Many years before that date, " when the command of God came to him "[1] Ja'far had designated his son Ismā'īl to be his succesor.

> Thus Ismail became the gate to God, His praying niche, the Abode of His Light, and the link (sabab) between Him and His creations, the Lieutenant of God on earth.[2]

On another occasion, in the presence of Ismā'īl, Ja'far is reported to have said : " He is the Imam after me, and what you learn from him is just the same as if you have learnt it from myself."[3] Sayyidnā Ja'far ibn Manṣūr al Yaman suggests that the occasion for the early designation was that the Imam's " health became impaired."[4] If this was true we know that Ja'far recovered his health, and later found it necessary to deprive Ismā'īl of the designation he had made, saying

> Isma'il is not my son ; it is a demon which has taken his shape. . . . God has changed his opinion regarding Isma'il. I nominate my successor to Imamate my other son, Musa.[5]

Following this, between A.H. 133[6] and 145[7] Ismā'īl died. If, as we read, local spies reported to al Manṣūr, Isma'il could not have died before 136, the year Manṣūr ascended the throne. *'Umdat al Talib* puts his death in 138.[8] Since the *khalīfa* had probably been informed of the designation of Ismā'īl to be his successor, and of the subsequent change, Ja'far took great pains

[1] Ja'far ibn Mansur, Asrar al Nutaqa, p. 81 ; Tr. by Ivanow, W., in The Rise of the Fatimids, p. 275.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 94, Tr. p. 291.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 95, Tr. p. 292.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 94, Tr. p. 290.
[5] Defremery, M. C., History of Ismaeliens, JA, VIII, 1856, pp. 360/361.
[6] Ivanow, W., Imam Ismail, JASB, XIX, 1923.
[7] Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 38, (from Juwaini).
[8] *Ibid.* (cf. Ismailitica, p. 60).

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to see that the death was properly authenticated. The body lay in state in the house for three days where people might see it. When people came to express their sympathy with him, the Imam had them sign a statement which he had drawn up. "He did this until in Medina all the Hashimites, local people and visitors had given their signatures."[1] At the grave, in the Baqi' cemetery, the signature of the Governor was also secured. Ja'far then sent a report to the *khalīfa*, who was suspicious of some trick, for he had already heard that Ismā'īl had been seen in Basra. Al Manṣūr summoned Ja'far to his presence, where the signatures he had so foresightedly secured, cleared him and he was given presents by the *khalīfa* and sent home.[2]

Various reasons are given as an explanation for altering the *naṣṣ* Ja'far al Ṣādiq had given to Ismā'īl. That most frequently used by historians, mostly Sunni and *Ithnā 'Asharīya*, is that Ismā'īl had been drinking ; to which the Ismā'īlī could reply, that the Imam being infallible would know a truth concerning drinking beyond the *ẓahir* command to abstain from it.[3] More likely, is the suggestion that Ismā'īl had become involved with the extremist group, and had intrigued against his father. Lewis' analysis of this charge does indicate that Ismā'īl was in close association with Abū al Khaṭṭāb and others who would be classed with the *ghulāt*.[4] Abū al Khaṭṭāb had been active in the Shiite group with Imam Ja'far, but the latter had to repudiate him openly. The *Asrār*[5] also states that Ja'far had to forbid Ismā'īl to go to the school which Abū al Khaṭṭāb had been conducting. Another explanation that is offered comes from references to Ismā'īl's lameness. Tabarī repeatedly uses an epithet, *al 'araj*,[6] meaning lame, for Ismā'īl. Similar information is also given in the *'Umdat al Tālib*. In the earliest systematic treatise on the theory of the *khilāfat* by Māwardī, one of the conditions for a *khalīfa* is that he be "of spotless character, and be free from all physical or mental infirmity."[7] It may be that such a physical defect as lameness had become a disqualification, though it would seem that such a defect, if it were of long standing, would have

[1] Ja'far ibn Mansur, *op. cit.*, p. 103, Tr. p. 301. (Cf. Mujtaba Ali, Origin of the Khojas, p. 7).
[2] Ja'far ibn Mansur, *op. cit.*, p. 104 ; Tr. p. 302. (Cf. Idris, S'dna Zahru'l Ma'ani, p. 48 ; Trans. in Rise of Fatimids, p. 235.)
[3] Huart, C., Isma'iliya, EI.
[4] Lewis, *op. cit.*, pp. 36/40 ; Ivanow, Ismailis and Quarmatians, JBBRAS, 1940, p. 57, n. 3.
[5] Ja'far ibn Mansur, *op. cit.*, p. 96, Tr. pp. 292/293.
[6] Ivanow, W., Ismailitica, p. 61, (Tabari III, 154, 2509).
[7] Arnold, T. W., The Caliphate, pp. 71/72.

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precluded his nomination. On the other hand, Moḥsin Fāni, in his *Dābistān al Madhāhib*, says, " that Ismailis say that prophets and saints cannot live free from bodily defects."[1]

Ismā'īl was probably the second son of Ja'far.[2] His mother, Fāṭima, is said to have been the great-granddaughter of Imam Ḥasan. Ivanow states that the only really historical reference to him is one that tells, and that incidentally, of his having a part in a dispute over the persecution of Shias in Medina in A.H. 133.[3] That Ismā'īl had children seems certain. Muḥammad is known to history. We read also of a son named 'Ali. Notwithstanding all the witnesses to Ismā'īl's death and burial, some of his followers refused to accept the fact of his death during Ja'far's lifetime, insisting that it was only a ruse, as in these statements :

> When the time came to Isma'il to dissemble death, using this ruse against his enemies. . . .[4]
> His body was made to disappear during the life time of his father, as a mystery intended to protect him from his enemies, and as a test for his followers.[5]

As long as five years after his death, Ismā'īl is said to have been seen in Basra, where he cured a paralytic in the market.[6] Another group denied that he had died at all claiming that he was *Qā'īm al Muntaẓar*, and would return.[7] For them he was the first hidden Imam.

We must leave this narrative for the moment and return to Medina to the time of Imam Ja'far's death. The confusion regarding the Imamate which marked this period in Shiism reached a climax with that event. Ja'far's dominating personality had held forces in check, but at his death the field for a successor was open. Various historians relate that " all " of the sons of Ja'far contended for the position. In *Kalami Pir* there is an account of this contest,[8] which was again carried for decision to the Black Stone at Mecca, as had been done by Zain al 'Abidīn and Muḥammad ibn al Ḥanafīya' This time the decision was in favour of Ismā'īl, after which

Musa Kaẓim swears allegiance to Isma'il. They are both the

[1] Mohsin Fani, Dabistan, II, p. 447.
[2] Ivanow, W., The Rise of the Fatimids, p. 306, n. 4.
[3] Ivanow, Imam Ismail, JASB, 1923, pp. 305/310 ; also Ismailis and Qarmatians, JBBRAS, 1940, p. 57.
[4] Idris, *op. cit.*, p. 47, Tr. p. 232.
[5] Ja'far ibn Mansur, *op. cit.*, p. 81, Tr. pp. 275/276.
[6] Mujtaba Ali, *op. cit.*, p. 8 ; Idris, *op. cit.*, p. 48, Tr. p. 235.
[7] Lewis, *op. cit.*, pp. 38/40.
[8] Ivanow, W., Kalami Pir, pp. 17/18.

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same in their mission, not opposed one to the other, the difference being outward.[1]

But the rivalry was not so simply settled. When he revoked the *naṣṣ* from Ismā'īl, Ja'far designated his fourth son, Musa, to be his successor. The Ismā'īlīya say this was only " as a ' screen ' for the real successor . . . "[2] but Musa claimed to be a real Imam. The groups following the other sons of Ja'far did not continue long. But there were other recalcitrant groups. Some still expected Ismā'īl's return, rejecting both the fact of his death during the life of his father, and his repudiation by his father. Others denied the right of Ja'far to revoke the *naṣṣ*, and claimed that Ismā'īl had designated his son Muḥammad to be his successor. Another group even claimed that Ja'far had himself appointed Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl as Imam.[3] These groups together were the first Ismā'īlīya, so named after Ismā'īl ibn Ja'far, and since he was the seventh Imam the sect is also spoken of as the Sab'īya or the Seveners.

Naubakhti, who is best informed about this period, says that the group which supported Muḥammad was called the *Mubārakīya* after Mubārak who was a client, or *mawla*, of Ismā'īl, who is said to have recognised the Imam in Muḥammad.[4] Very little information is available concerning Mubārak. Other persons in the inner circle that developed the principles of Ismailism are Maimūn al Qaddāḥ, his son 'Abdullāh and Abū al Khaṭṭāb. Lewis describes both Ismā'īl and his son Muḥammad as active co-operators with these.[5]

Abū al Khaṭṭāb Muḥammad ibn Abī Zainab al Asadī was killed as a heretic with some seventy of his followers in Kufa in A.H. 138. But for years he had been associated with the Imams Muḥammad al Bāqir and Ja'far al Ṣādiq, not only as a Shī'a in good standing, but apparently as an intimate associate. He is said to have been the first person in Islam to read the Quran with an allegorical meaning, which to the orthodox was apostasy. He went so far, however, as to make claims of prophethood, and even of the immanence of divinity for Ja'far. The Imam promptly disavowed him, whereupon Abū al Khaṭṭāb made the same claims for himself. He and his followers are credited with other heretical

[1] *Ibid.*
[2] Idris, *op. cit.*, p. 51, Tr. p. 238.
[3] Majilsi, H. B., Bihar al Anwar, IX, p. 175.
[4] Naubakhti, Kitab Firaq al Shi'a, pp. 57/58 ; Cf. Lewis, *op. cit.*, pp. 40/42; Ivanow, Ismailis and Qarmatians, JBBRAS, 1940, p. 79.
[5] Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

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doctrines, including libertinism, the right to bear false witness in the interests of religion ; extreme allegorical interpretations of the Quran such as that heaven and hell were persons ; and the light theory of transmigration. Following his death his followers, who had perhaps never been a homogeneous group, became more subdivided, so that al Makrizi describes as many as fifty divisions within the *Khaṭṭābīya,* which is numbered in the works on sects as among the *ghulāt.*[1]

Both Maimūn al Qaddāḥ and his son 'Abdullāh were creative forces within Shiism. Some Sunni writers, and with them many European Orientalists, have described Maimūn as the son of one, Daisan, a dualist, and disciple of Abū al Khaṭṭāb, while the son is credited with great training in religious and theological doctrines. He is said to have been driven by a hatred of Islam for the destruction of which he invented doctrines ending in atheism. 'Abdullāh ibn Maimūn has been placed by some writers a hundred years later than his real time. Sources now available leave no doubt that both father and son were contemporaries of Ja'far al Ṣādiq and probably of his father, Muḥammad al Bāqir, and that both were in touch with *Khaṭṭābīya.* The *Ithnā 'Asharīya* not only agree in making 'Abdullāh a contemporary of Ja'far, but there are references to him as one of their accepted traditionists. It is probable that he, like numerous others, left the *Ithnā 'Asharīya* to join the more active Ismā'īlīya, in which he became a leader.[2]

Reliable source material on Ismailism has been notoriously difficult to secure, and notwithstanding the progress made since 1898 when Casanova reported a manuscript, *Risālat al Jāmī'a* which seemed reliably to report Ismā'īlī doctrine, there are still many lacunae to be filled to give a complete historical picture of the development of Ismailism in the years following Imam Ja'far's death. The more clear the picture becomes the more certain is it that Ismailism was not chiefly heretical, built to destroy Islam, but essentially Shiism on the march, to establish a theocratic and therefore truly Islamic state. Ivanow describes it as " the most catholic and highly developed form of Shiism."[3] How close the two main branches were through many decades is suggested by the fact that the doctrine of the Fatimids as it is presented in the

[1] Lewis, *op. cit.*, pp. 32/36 ; Mamour, P. H., Polemics, p. 46, n. 1 ; Ivanow, *op. cit.*, p. 128 ; EI, Abu'l Khattab and Khattabiya.
[2] Mamour, *op. cit.*, p. 48 ; Ivanow, Rise of the Fatimids, V ; also Ismailis and Qarmatians, JBBRAS, 1940, pp. 68 ff.
[3] Ivanow, W., Rise of the Fatimids, xxii.

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Da'ā'im of Qāḍi Nu'mān is largely based on traditions handed down from Imam Ja'far al Ṣādiq,[1] while Qāḍi Nu'mān " is often claimed as their own by the Ithna 'Asharis."[2] All the evidence suggests that Ja'far himself was not a " fundamentalist " but a progressive who contributed much both to Ismailism and to Ithna Asharism. The Imams of this latter group remaining as they did under strict surveillance of the Abbasid *khulafā* had perforce to stress caution and moderation. The Ismā'īlīya, driven to the wilds for safety, continued through concealment and *taqīya* to maintain a freedom, which together with a mental freshness in its converts, encouraged speculation in gnostic and mystical philosophies, in a world thrown open to new intellectual forces. When it succeeded in the establishment of its own Fatimid State, it was able in safety to develop its doctrines and create its literature.

Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl

The foundation for an extended propaganda designed to bring together differing sects seems already to have been laid when Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl left Medina for concealment. Early the *Khaṭṭābīya* seem to have joined the *Mubārakīya*.[3] The *da'wat* of the united forces was steadily perfected. For their protection the Imams ceased to be spoken of by name—they became *al Maktūm*, Takī or Wafī, while the leading *da'i* came to be known as the *hijāb*,[4] veil, for to all intents he was for most people the Imam, thus protecting the real Imam from molestation. The *Istitār al Imam* and the *Sīrat Ja'far* describe the way in which dais came and went, under the instruction of a few active leaders, who were under the supreme direction of the Imam or his *hijāb*. The Imam lived as a merchant and moved hither or yon as safety might require and often with narrow escapes, but at the same time maintained something of a family life.

When Ismā'īl died, his son Muḥammad continued to live in Medina under the care of his grandfather until the latter's death in A.H. 148. He is said to have been fourteen years of age when his father died. If that was in A.H. 138, he would then have been twenty-four when Imam Ja'far died. Mamour puts his age at

[1] Ivanow, W., A Creed of the Fatimids, p. 7.
[2] Ivanow, W., Guide, p. 37.
[3] Lewis, *op. cit.*, pp. 35, 40/42.
[4] Idris, *op. cit.*, p. 54, Tr. p. 242 ; Ivanow, Ismailis and Qarmatians, JBBRAS, 1940, p. 73.

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the time of his grandfather's death at about twenty.[1] In either case he was old enough to have had an intimate interest, and even an active part, in the plans and discussions leading to the Ismā'īlī organization, which when Ja'far died, had apparently been well started. Tabarī refers to Muhammad as a *rāwī*, a title he must have earned before his concealment.

> He was in Medina when he rose to the protection of the religion of God, despatched his *da'is*, spread his doctrine, and ordered his missionaries to search for the ' land of refuge ' (*dar hijra*) in which to seek safety.[2]

He left Medina to escape Abbasid espionage and thereafter lived incognito, his whereabouts being known to only a few of his most responsible followers. The account as given in *'Uyūn al akhbār* illustrates what we find again and again in narratives of these hidden Imams, *al A'immat al masturūn*, that there is a close-knit organization to keep the Imam posted with information. Many people in official positions apparently had Shiite leanings, and the Abbasid government was always in touch with, or in pursuit of, Ḥusainī Sayyids.

From Medina, Muhammad went to Kufa[3], where a son, Abdullāh, was born to him. He then moved with his family to Rai, where he lived in a section which came to be known as Muḥammadabad, with one Isḥāq ibn 'Abbās, a Persian official of the place, and a relative of 'Abdullāh's mother. When Hārūn heard that he was here he demanded that he be sent by Isḥāq to him, but Isḥāq secretly sent Muḥammad to a fort at Nahawand, where the local officer gave him protection and also married his daughter to him. Isḥāq was punished by the *khalīfa* for his disobedience with imprisonment during which he died. Hearing then that Muḥammad was now at Nahawand, the *khalīfa* sent Muḥammad ibn 'Ali al Khorasānī, with two hundred and fifty Turkish slaves to seize him and bring him back. They found Muḥammad in the mosque and on his left and right were two men, guarding him. The hands and feet of the Khorasānī swelled for fear and he bowed before Muḥammad and became his follower. Further journeys took Muḥammad to Sabur and Farghana, and in this latter place he died. His tomb was there. The Fatimid *khalīfa*, Mu'izz billāh is said to have transferred the remains of the hidden Imams to Cairo. The author of *al Azhar*, referring to

[1] Mamour, *op. cit.*, p. 66.
[2] Idris, *op. cit.*, p. 53, Tr. p. 240.
[3] Unless otherwise indicated, I follow in here the narrative of S. Zakir Husain Jafar in his account of these Imams.

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this report, naively says, " but God alone knows whether this is true."[1]

Muhammad ibn Isma'il is said to have had six children.[2] Two of these, Ismā'īl and Ja'far were born in Medina and were left there.[3] Mamour considers that Ja'far, who obtained the title of al Shair, became a helper to his brother 'Abdullāh,[4] whose birth in Kufa has been referred to. The other sons were Aḥmad, al Ḥusain, and 'Ali al Layth.[5] This last named was murdered by Abbasids ; al Ḥusain, as we shall see, was associated with his brother ; Aḥmad emigrated. De Goeje, quoting both Juwaini and the author of *Dustūr al Munajjimīn*, states that some of the sons of Muḥammad went to Kandahar on the borders of India,[6] and it may well be that they and their descendants became advocates of Ismailism in India. He also says that Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl himself went to India, a statement supported by other sources. Sectarian works speak of the *da'wat* maintained by Muḥammad through dais. " The world became alive with propaganda and his influence spread."[7] " He spread religious knowledge, explained esoteric doctrines, and revealed to the chosen ones the great mystery."[8] Such statements suggesting direction from the Imam might be multiplied.

> When Imam Muhammad ibn Isma'il was about to die, he handed over the earth to his son, 'Abdullah al Radi, making him his successor and trustee. He was the first of the three ' concealed ' Imams, by the order of God and his inspiration.[9]

'Abdullāh al Mastūr

The Abbasid *khulafā* made renewed efforts to kill or poison every Ḥusainī Sayyid. 'Abdullāh removed from Farghana to Dailam, but left his brother Ḥusain at Farghana as his deputy. At Dailam 'Abdullāh married an *'Alawī* of whom Aḥmad was born. The *da'wat* continued to increase through the efforts of the brothers and the faithful dais. At this time, one of the dais, Aḥmad ibn al Kayyāl, highly trained in esoteric doctrines, lost

[1] Ivanow, Rise of the Fatimids, p. 30.
[2] Mamour, *op. cit.*, p. 162.
[3] Idris, *op. cit.*, p. 54, Tr. p. 241.
[4] Mamour, *op. cit.*, p. 153.
[5] Ivanow, Rise of the Fatimids, pp. 38/39.
[6] De Goeje, M. J., Memoires, pp. 63, 85 ; Defremery, *op. cit.*, p. 364.
[7] Ja'far ibn Mansur, *op. cit.*, p. 100, Tr. p. 297.
[8] Idris, *op. cit.*, p. 54, Tr. 242.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 58, Tr. p. 248.

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his faith in the Creator of the world, and originated some theories of his own which were contrary to the spirit and letter of the teaching of the Imams, and to its principles and practices. Like Abū al Khaṭṭāb he went astray and like him too, he was expelled, and then he posed as the Mahdī himself. He was finally killed by his own followers.[1] The added danger to the Imam, if one of the *Kayyālīya* should turn informer to the Abbasids, caused 'Abdullāh to move again. He so completely " lost himself " to his followers that they had to organize a search for him.

> His occultation was like the darkest night, and this happened because the forces of evil received ascendancy over the Truth, as the tyrannical Abbasid government was then strong, and fears and dangers were great.[2]

His people, feeling that they had lost touch with their Imām, also felt prayers and fast to be of no use. Nor did they know to whom to pay the *zakāt*. They instituted a search lasting a year; finally the Imām was located in the " Monastery of sparrows." The *da'i* who found him " rushed from his donkey and fell prostrated before God, thanking him that he had found him, for whom he was in search. Then he bowed to the Imam."[3] One of the searchers who had four thousand dinars in cash to be handed over to the Imām when found, had " bought some cosmetics and hiding money in his wares "[4] carried on his search that way. After this, the Imam maintained contact with his dais, sending them "everywhere secretly, commissioning them or dismissing them from service."[5] He continued to live as an ordinary merchant. He established his residence at Salamīya where he was among Hashimites, one of whom was related to the Abbasids. 'Abdullāh pretended to be of their number—and succeeded in keeping alive. Two sons were born to him at Salamīya, Aḥmad and Ibrāhīm. Nothing is known of the latter except that he had descendants.[6] 'Abdullāh died at Salamīya.

Aḥmad al Mastūr

The second hidden Imam was Aḥmad ibn 'Abdullāh, known also as al Taqī, or al Khair. He lived, probably, (for no dates

[1] Ivanow, Ismailis and Quarmatians, JBBRAS, 1940, pp. 64/65.
[2] Idris, *op. cit.*, p. 59, Tr. p. 249.
[3] Istitar (Bulletin, pp. 93/95), Trans. in Rise of Fatimids, 158/ —.
[4] Ivanow, Rise of the Fatimids, 34/35.
[5] Istitar, 95, Tr. 162.
[6] *Ibid.*, 95, 97; Tr. 162, 165.

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are obtainable) at the close of the second and opening of the third century of the Muslim era. His residence continued to be in Salamīya, where two sons were born to him, al Ḥusain and Sayyid al Khair.[1] Aḥmad had the reputation of being profoundly learned. Sectarian literature attributes to him the publication of the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al Ṣafa*, on account of which he is known as *Ṣāḥib al Rasā'il*. Until the publication in 1898 of Casanova's *Notice sur un manuscript* this work was thought to be of a much later date, say the beginning of the fourth or fifth centuries A.H. Ivanow is inclined to consider that only an " abbreviated " version may have belonged to as early a period as the third century A.H.[2] Statements of doctrine such as *kashf* and *satr* are much less developed than in later Ismā'īlī works,[3] and seem to favour the early date. The title represents the work as that of the " Sincere Brethren " or " Brethren of Purity," a society that flourished in Basra. At least five names of contributors are known.

> They formed a society for the pursuit of holiness, purity and truth and established amongst themselves a doctrine whereby they hoped to win the approval of God.[4]

The contents are of a pronouncedly eclectic nature and are divided under four heads: fourteen treatises as propædeutics to mathematics and logic; seventeen deal with natural sciences, including psychology; ten with metaphysics, and eleven discuss mysticism, astrology and magic. In No. 45 is some discussion of the nature and organization of the association.[5] There is a detailed statement of the 52 tracts in *'Uyūn al akhbār*. The whole work is something in the nature of an encyclopædia with the purpose, apparently, of bridging the gap between science and religion. One would hardly look for such a work to come from men who were, or whose leaders were, in concealment; but there is general agreement with Casanova that we have here a work setting forth the philosophic doctrines of the *Ismā'īlīya*, strong evidence that earlier writings had greatly calumniated the sect. The work was distributed in mosques for " the guidance of the people," which is eloquent testimony of the willingness of leaders to trust the common people in a field usually withheld from them. Worthy of mention, too, is the broad tolerance of the writers. In the forty-

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 95, Tr. 162.
[2] Ivanow, Rise of the Fatimids, p. 35, n. 2; 137; cf. also p. 252.
[3] Hamadani, H. F., Compendium, Islamic Culture XI, 1937, p. 217.
[4] Nicholson, *op. cit.*, 370/371.
[5] De Boer, T. J., 'Ikhwan al Safa, EI.

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fourth tract there is a statement concerning Jesus which is unique in Muslim literature.[1]

The Sunni attitude toward the *Rasā'il* is indicated by the action of *khalīfa* Mustanjīd, A.D. 1150, who ordered all copies found in public and private libraries to be burned.[2] The publication of the *Rasā'il* served again to stir up agitation against the sect. Aḥmad, therefore, took the precaution to move about, always in the dress of a merchant, between Dailam, Kufa and Salamīya. He died at the last-named place.

Ḥusain al Mastūr

Aḥmad was succeeded by his son Ḥusain surnamed al Zakī, and also *al Muqtada al Hādī*. He was the third of the " hidden " Imams, called *al mastūr*, or *al maktūm*. His headquarters continued in Salamīya, where he was among the Hashimites and appeared to be one of them. He gave presents to the local governors and was lavish with hospitality. If the name of Aḥmad is remembered through the *Ikhwān al Safa*, which the son is said to have summarized in his *Jāmi'at al Jāmi'a*,[3] the name of Ḥusain is connected with a spreading *da'wat* or propaganda :

> He organised the propaganda, spread it further afield, broadcast instruction to his followers, making it manifest ; he established proofs, explained the *risalas* (apparently the Encyclopædia of the Ikhwanu'-safa) and despatched his da'is everywhere. He thus made the true religion visible to those who were in search of it.[4]

" In furtherance of what God Himself wished in the way of the manifestation of His Light,"[5] Ḥusain went on a pilgrimage to Najaf Ashraf, the tomb of 'Ali. While there he met and became attached to Abū al Qāsim Ḥasan ibn Farah ibn Haushab, who was of the Twelvers and was associated with Imam Ḥasan 'Askari ; and also to 'Ali ibn al Faḍl, both of whom he sent to the Yaman to establish the way of the Ismā'īlīya there. This was in A.H. 266, and by 293 the whole of the Yaman had been won to the sect. A distinctive note in the preaching of this period was the early coming of the promised Mahdī. So real did this appear that " the king of San'a and some others gave up their

[1] Donaldson, D. M., Bulletin of H.M.S., Nov./Dec. 1941, pp. 1/6.
[2] Ameer Ali, Spirit of Islam, 450.
[3] Ivanow, Guide, No. 15.
[4] 'Uyun al Akhbar, Rise of the Fatimids, p. 36.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 37.

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authority."[1] Ibn Haushab became known as Manṣūr al Yaman, and though he was himself sometimes spoken of as the Mahdī, he was always loyal to his own Imam. Another strong *da'i* commissioned by Ḥusain is known as Abū 'Abdillāh al Shī'ī. He was first sent to the Yaman to be an apprentice under ibn Haushab. At the end of a year he went with pilgrims to Mecca and from there, with another group of pilgrims, he proceeded to the *maghrib*, the present Tunisia, though the term also includes Morocco, farther west. Here his success among the Barbers of the Kitāma tribe was no less amazing than that of ibn Haushab had been.

The *da'wat* had developed strength in southern Mesopotamia, Khuzistan and Fars. Ḥusain's son, al Mahdī, was born at 'Askar Mukram, of a woman of Basra,[2] Ḥusain died there about eight years later. The author of *'Uyūn al akhbār* indicates that the Imam had left Salamīya owing to a rising of the 'Qarmatians' who were moving on Salamīya and Syria,[3] but that uprising did not come until after Ḥusain's death. It was more likely the increasing momentum of the Ismā'īlī *da'wat* that made it necessary for the Imam to move about in order to escape detection. He had therefore, made his headquarters at 'Askar Mukram, in Khuzistan, where he would be near his followers. At some time in his movements he had left his son with Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Sa'id al Khair, known also as Muḥammad Ḥabīb. He was a brother of Ḥusain and was still living at Salamīya.

'Ubaidallāh, al Mahdī

Husain's young son, 'Ubaidallāh, was the person according to Ismā'īlī preaching, on whose advent the true religion waited. He was born on the twelfth of Shawwāl in the year 260/874, the first of recent Imams for whom we have any definite date. In the *Istitār* we read that Muḥammad Ḥabīb who held the position which later came to be called *mustawda,'* or trustee Imam, soon considered himself to be the real Imam[4] and sought to retain the office in his family. He named his own son as successor. That son died, so he named another. Ten sons he so designated, one after the other, but all died, and he was thus forced to recognize

[1] Idris, *op. cit.*, pp. 65/66, Tr. 258.
[2] Ivanow, Rise of the Fatimids, p.14.
[3] 'Uyun al akhbar, in Rise of the Fatimids, p. 36.
[4] Istitar, pp. 95/96; Tr., pp. 162/163.

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the true rights of 'Ubaidallāh, who became known in history as Imam 'Ubaidallāh ibn al Ḥusain Abū Muḥammad al Mahdī billāh, Amīr al Mumunīn. Both the *Istitār* and *Sīrat Ja'far* give intimate glimpses of life in the home, and of other members of the family of al Mahdī. The most important of these was the young son al Qa'im, though non-Isma'ili sources name other sons also.

It would seem that all went well for a while. The *da'wat* in Yaman was completed ; that country had proved to be the strongest of all the ' mission fields ' ; but the *da'wat* in the Maghrib had also grown apace. In a short time Abū 'Abdillāh al Shī'ī sent word inviting the Imam to come to Kitāma assuring him that the people were ready to receive him as their Mahdī. The *khalīfa*, al Muktafī, also heard of this, and summoned al Mahdī to Baghdad. Perhaps al Mahdī had already left—if not, he did so immediately, moving secretly to Egypt from where it had been his plan to proceed first to the Yaman. But two considerations changed his plan ; first, the defection of his *da'i* Firuz, who became discontented, and went to the Yaman where he sought to estrange the loyalty of ibn Haushab. He failed in this, but he did succeed in stirring 'Ali ibn al Faḍl to a rebellion, which was suppressed by ibn Haushab with the death of both rebel leaders. The second consideration was the accelerating progress made by al Shī'ī, which beckoned him westward. The account of his journey to Sijilmāsa is interesting, but it need not detain us here.

Al Shī'ī had established a strict puritan rule[1] in the city of Khairawan, death being the penalty for drinking wine or bringing it into the city. The Shiite formula was used in the *khuṭba* and the names of 'Ali, Fāṭima, Ḥasan and Ḥusain were inserted in it. The government was in the name of the concealed Imam—the Mahdī soon to appear. A new coinage had been prepared without a name, but with the inscriptions : " I have borne my witness to God," and on the reverse, " May the enemies of God be scattered." Abū 'Abdillāh al Shī'ī wore clothes of coarse material and ate the simplest food. In due course, after a journey with hardships and losses, with dangers and narrow escapes, al Mahdī with his party, reached Sijilmāsa. He was heartily welcomed and took over the government from al Shī'ī in 296/909. We shall continue the story of his Imamate under the Fatimid Imams.

In the above account of the Ismā'īlī Imams, we have followed the sectarian tradition which recognizes this order :

[1] O' Leary, de L., Fatimid Khalifate, IV., pp. 51/53.

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Ismā'īl ibn Ja'far
Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl
'Abdullāh ibn Muḥammad al mastūr
Aḥmad ibn 'Abdullāh al mastūr
Ḥusain ibn Aḥmad al mastūr
'Ubaidallāh ibn Ḥusain al Mahdī

By this genealogy the Ismailis establish their claim to lineal descent from the Prophet and 'Ali through Fāṭima, a position they openly proclaim in the name 'Fatimid' which they gave to the dynasty established by al Mahdī in North Africa. Arab historians, sometimes biased by political or religious influences, are divided on the truth of this claim, Al Maqrizi and Ibn Khaldūn support the legitimacy of Fatimid descent, while Ibn Khallikan, Abū al Fidā, al Suyuṭi and others reject it. Similarly, European scholars have divided, de Sacy and Ivanow accepting ; Quatremere rejecting Fatimid descent. Early Ismā'īlī sources are very obscure as they usually avoid names. Over two hundred genealogies exist covering this period from Ismā'īl to al Mahdī.

In 402/1011, a hundred years after the dynasty was founded, and again at a later time, the Abbasids issued a manifesto openly denying the right of the Fatimid claim to descent from 'Ali. They charged descent from Daisan, a dualist who had died four hundred years before Islam ; and specifically accused Ma'ad al Mu'izz, the fourth Fatimid *khalīfa* with

> all his ancestors who have preceded him, impure and abominable men (may they be accursed by God and by the angels who pronounce the maledictions!) are impostors, rebel heretics who do not belong in any manner to the family of the descendants of 'Ali, son of Abu Talib, and that the genealogy that they have invented is nothing but a lie and an impersonation.[1]

The Fatimids never officially replied to the Manifesto. Secrecy regarding all matters in their religion is a cardinal principle of the sect, but in this case, as Ivanow suggests, there may have been an especially strong prejudice against "uncovering those whom God has veiled." The discussion which the Manifesto provoked led to questions concerning their Imams from followers so far afield as Sind, for Sayyidna Idrīs has preserved a *sijill* or epistle, from al Mu'izz billāh addressed to the chief *da'i* of that country regarding the Qaddāḥid origin of the dynasty. In part he explains:

> And with regard to his ('Abdullah b. Muhammad) being the

[1] Mamour, *op. cit.*, 25 ; JA Series 5 : 15 : 148/150.

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son of Maimun al Qaddah, it was true that he was the son of the *Maymun'n-naqibat*, i.e. of the ' Divinely blessed with success in his affairs,' of al Qaddah (the flint) ' striking sparks of guidance,' i.e. ' lighting the light of the Divine wisdom.'[1]

This portion of the *sijill* relates directly to the charge that the Fatimids were descended from Maimun al Qaddāḥ, and not from 'Ali. It may be taken as a clever dodging of a direct answer, or as meaning that the manifesto was so transparently false as not to merit any answer.

Three studies of the origin of the Fatimids have recently been made in new efforts to determine the real ancestry of the hidden Imams, and thereby the validity of the dynasty's claim to be descended from 'Ali.[2] Most of the genealogies agree in considering Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl as the successor of his father, but a goodly number put in place of Muhammad the names of Daisan, Sayyid Ghadban or Maimūn al Qaddāh,[3] and thus support the Manifesto.

In the first of these studies Prince Mamour identifies Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl and Maimūn al Qaddāḥ as the same person, the latter name being the pseudonym used by the Imam for his protection during the years that he was in concealment. The author's account seems very plausible except for ample evidence that Maimūn al Qaddāḥ was a historical person,[4] a *rāwī* under Muḥammad al Bāqir and Jafar al Ṣādiq, whose son, too, was a *rāwī* under the last-named Imam. Maimūn was certainly elderly if still living, by the time of Muḥammad's concealment, and his son was probably older than Muḥammad. However, the quotation given above from the epistle of al Mu'izz suggests that Mamour may be right in suggesting that Muḥammad was known both as Maimūn and as al Qaddāḥ.

In the second study, Dr. Lewis considers that the key to this problem of descent from Ismā'īl to al Mahdī may be found in the " doctrines of spiritual fatherhood and trustee Imamate."[5] By the first he means that the ties between a teacher and his disciple may be stronger than those of physical birth, making it possible for the disciple to supplant a son by birth, specifically, that Maimūn's son, 'Abdullāh, came to be considered as the son of

[1] 'Uyunu'l Akhbar, V, Tr. by Ivanow, JBBRAS, 1940, p. 75.
[2] Mamour, Prince P. H., Polemics on the Origin of the Fatimi Caliphs, 1934. Lewis, Bernard, The Origins of Isma'ilism, 1940. Ivanow, W., The Rise of the Fatimids, 1942.
[3] Mamour, *op. cit.*, pp. 39/42.
[4] Lewis, *op. cit.*, pp. 54/66.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 72.

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Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl. By the "trustee Imamate" Lewis refers to a development which came much later toward the end of the Fatimid period. This was the appointment of a temporary, or *mustawda'* Imam, for an emergency such as the minority of a real Imam. Lewis applies this principle at this early stage, not alone in an emergency, but in a seemingly continuous succession throughout the period of *satr*, giving what he calls the Qaddahid or *Mustawda'* Imamate, in contrast to the real or *mustaqarr* Imamate.[1]

In support of his position Lewis leans heavily on an Ismā'īlī esoteric work known as *Ghāyat al Mawālīd* traditionally attributed to Sayyidnā al Khaṭṭāb, a Yamanite *da'i*, who died 533/1138; and on Druse writings, for he admits that there is no Ismā'īlī historical work that supports such an explanation.[2] Ivanow has appraised the *Ghāyat* in his study where he considers it to be of a much later date.[3] The purpose of the *Ghāyat* is to justify the Imamate of Al Ṭayyib, near the end of the Fatimid period, and if Al Khaṭṭāb was the author it was written within seven years of Al Ṭayyib's concealment. The author makes several statements regarding Imams which do not find support in any other Ismā'īlī historical work. One cannot be sure that corroborating evidence will not be found, but the added fact that the particular portion on which Dr. Lewis counts is not to be found in some copies reduces, for the time being, its value. By his thesis Lewis reconciles the Druse list of seven hidden Imams with the Fatimid list of three hidden Imams in the same period. The Druse religion did not originate until after 386/996 though it has much in common with earlier Ismā'īlī groups, and perhaps with the Qarmatians of Bahrain. It is very uncertain that much reliance can be placed on its works, largely esoteric, for historical events that touch a period a century and a half earlier.

The third study is Ivanow's work referred to above, in which he accepts the traditional Fatimid position until new light from works yet unknown, makes another position tenable.

Reference is made to a fourth concealed Imam between Ḥusain and Al Mahdī in *Ghāyat* and *Zahr al Ma'anī*.[4] Some genealogies connect Al Mahdī with Imam Mūsā Ḳāẓim[5], but not always through the twelfth Imam of the *Ithnā 'Asharīya*. This

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 72/73.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 51.
[3] Ivanow, *op. cit.*, pp. 20/21, 56/57.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 22, 56/57.
[5] Mamour, *op. cit.*, pp. 93 ff.

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is probably no more than some individual's attempt to bring the two historic lines of Shiism together.

The Qarmatians

Among the important sects that developed in the period following the death of Ja'far al Ṣādiq was the Qarmatian. There has been much confusion in the use of this name. In part this has been due to the difficulty Sunni writers have had in getting their facts regarding such sects, a difficulty that still persists; in part to inaccuracies of historians who were at heart anti-Isma'ili, and ready either wilfully or through indifference, to include inaccuracies regarding these groups in their histories, which statements have misled later historians, and the earliest European students. In part, also, the confusion has grown out of a tendency for the orthodox to characterize any group that diverted from their standards as heretics, and then to use for all of them the name of the most heretical sect they knew. Finally, confusion has been aggravated because Ismā'īlī records of their own history have not been available, with which to check the statements of Sunni writers.

As a result of these conditions, we find the word Qarmatian used: (1) as an equivalent for Ismailis in general; (2) for the dissident groups of Ismailis who joined in the invasion of Syria and came very close to capturing Damascus and establishing there a Fatimid kingdom somewhat earlier than that established in North Africa; (3) for the followers of Ḥamdān Qarmat and 'Abdān, his brother-in-law, who seceded from the Ismailis; and (4) for the Qarmatians of Bahrain. The most recent studies, supported by Ismā'īlī authorities, have made it clear that only this last group is really entitled to the name Qarmatian.[1]

The full story of the origin of the sect is not yet clear, but is somewhat on this wise: Dais of the early extensive *da'wat* reached Bahrain. Ibn Hauqal says that Ḥamdān Qarmat, who would appear to have been in charge of a district, sent one Abū Sa'id as *da'i* to Bahrain; Ibn Rizām gives the credit for the first *da'i* to 'Abdān, brother-in-law of Ḥamdān and closely associated with him, and names him as Abū Dhakarīya al Samamī, or Tamamī.[2]

[1] Lewis, Origins, pp. 19, 76/89; Mamour, Polemics, pp. 167/179; Ivanow, Guide, 1, n. 1, 15 n. 1; JBBRAS 1940, pp. 79, /85; Ivanow, Rise of the Fatimids pp. 49, 70 ff.

[2] Lewis, *op. cit.*, pp. 77 ff.

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Thabit ibn Sinan and 'Abd al Jabbār name others as the first *da'i* sent, and Abū Sa'id as their first convert in Bahrain, and al Jabbār speaks of Abū Sa'id as associate of Ḥamdān and 'Abdān. If there are differences in these details of precedence this fact is agreed to: that Abū Sa'id consolidated and became recognized as the head of the Bahrain State as early as the decade of A.H. A.H. 280.[1]

After the death of Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl the sect *Mubārakīya*, which was made up of his followers, divided into sub-sects,[2] one of which, it seems, was organized by a person called *Qarmatīya* who had been influenced by the *Khaṭṭābīya*. The way in which this group pulled away from the larger body is not clear. Ivanow suggests it may have been by seizing the opportunity which a group secession or apostasy afforded,[3] perhaps that of Aḥmad ibn Kayyāl who proved traitor to 'Abdullāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Isma'īl; or perhaps "the apostasy of ibn al Qaddāḥ" mentioned by Abū al 'Ala al Ma'arri who lived A.H. 363–449. This would probably be 'Abdullāh ibn Maimūn al Qaddāh and it could be that his son Aḥmad, disgusted with the way things were going after all his father had done in promoting true Ismailism, joined with him in fostering in a smaller group the essential truths they had established. But the 'how it happened' is a question which must await a later answer.

'Abd al Jabbār says that in the early teaching of the Qarmatians in Bahrain there was an expectation of the Imam Mahdī who would appear in A.H. 300 in the person of Muḥammad ibn 'Abdullāh ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīya.[4] Other writers have noted the Ḥanafi character of some Qarmatian doctrines. This may well be a relic of the Khaṭṭābīya connection in which the *waqifīya* principle that the Imamate ceases at the death of a given Imam, for the deceased is not really dead but temporarily concealed, soon to return. But it is more likely that Naubakhtī is right when he says that the Qarmatians considered Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl rather than one of the Ḥanafī line to be "the promised messiah, the Qa'im and the Mahdī of the Last Day, the Final Apostle of God."[5] As the seventh Imam, in succession to 'Ali, Muhammad ibn Ismā'īl held the unique position of initiating a

[1] De Goeje, Carmatians, ERE.
[2] Lewis, *op. cit.*, pp. 78, 40/42; Ivanow, Ismailis and Qarmatians, JBBRAS, 1940, p. 79.
[3] Ivanow, *op. cit.*, pp. 83/84.
[4] Lewis, *op. cit.*, 78.
[5] Ivanow, *op. cit.*, 79; Najm al Ghani Khan, Madhahib al Islam, p. 692.

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new cycle or era, with its *shari'a* superseding all previous dispensations. Indicative of the eagerness with which the Qarmatians anticipated some great event, de Goeje has shown tables used by them which show for a long time the positions of Jupiter and Saturn.[1] In harmony with this doctrine, and unlike other Shiite groups, the Qarmatians of Bahrain seem not to have established any Imams of their own; and they do not, in the beginning, recognize the Fatimid Imams.

There is reason to think that an emphasis on seven,[2] including an especially unique position for Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl, belonged to early Ismailism for

> in an esoteric prayer which is attributed to al Mu'izz li-dini'l-lah himself, (341-365/953–75) Muhammad b. Isma'il is referred to in the terms of 'the Seventh Natiq', the last and final Prophet of God, *the founder of a new shari'a*, the Qaim of the Resurrection, etc.[3]

Sayyidnā Idrīs gives expression to similar ideas in the seventeenth chapter of *Zahr al ma'ānī*. But such ideas were outgrown after the Fatimids were established and remain like vestigial appendages in the fully developed organism.[4]

Because they were said to recognize seven Imams the *Ismā'īlīya* are sometimes called the *Sab'īya*, the seveners. The term applies in the sense that Ismā'īl, at which point they branched off from the Twelvers, was recognized as the seventh Imam, if indeed he can be counted at all having died before his father. There were a few who counted the Imamate as stopping with him. They might be called "Seveners." But those followers of Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl, who like the Qarmatians, recognized him as the seventh Imam following 'Ali but including Ismā'īl, and believed that the Imamate stopped with him, would be the true "Seveners." To apply the term to all Ismailis is as erroneous as to speak of all Ismailis as Qarmatians—this latter error doubtless led to the other. Ivanow states that the Ismailis never apply the term to themselves.[5]

Under Abū Sa'id the sect came to power. During the Zanj rebellion the Abbasid government seemingly paid no attention to the Qarmatians. In 287 Abū Sa'id's forces were able to rout

[1] Ivanow, *op. cit.*, p. 82, n. 1.
[2] Ivanow, Guide, p. 7, n. 1; de Sacy, I, CLIV.
[3] Ivanow, Ismailis and Qarmatians, JBBRAS, 1940, 80; Cf. 74, n. 1.
[4] Idris, 55/58, Tr. 244 ff.
[5] Ivanow, Guide, p. 8, n.

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empire troops sent against him.[1] He was succeeded by his son Ṭāhir, not as Imam, but as leader of the Qarmatian community, which grew from strength to strength. In A.H. 315 another army of the *khalīfa* was badly defeated, while Baghdad was threatened. In 317 they seized and plundered Mecca and the sanctuary, defiling the latter, killed some thirty thousand men and took as many women and children prisoners.[2] Dead bodies were thrown into the Zamzam and other wells or ditches without any funeral rites. They carried the Black Stone to their own capital at Hajjar thinking to place it in their *masjid*, Zakīr Ḥusain Ja'far says, so that that might become the place of pilgrimage.[3] This was the zenith of the Qarmatian power.

> Only the nomadic Bedouins resisted the invaders, the town folk of Mekka riotously revelled in the plunder of their own sanctuary. Contrary to our expectation this event made little impression on that age. Only the latter ages viewed it with intense horror ; the religious indifference being then too much pronounced.[4]

When the word of this sacrilegious act reached 'Ubaidallāh in North Africa, he wrote to Abū Ṭāhir condemning the action :

> You have marked down for us a black spot in history, which you will not erase. . . . You have brought on our dynasty, our sect (Shī'a) and our da'is the name of unbelief and Zandaqa, and heresy by your shameful deeds.[5]

He also ordered the Stone returned. This order was finally obeyed about twenty-two years later, in A.H. 339. This outrage was condemned by all Muslims, and nothing can illustrate the gap between the Qarmatians and Muslims better than this act. Small wonder that other heretics of this period were grouped under the one name, Qarmatian, as the supreme expression of Muslim contempt. In this way the name became connected with much that was not true.

> Monogamy seems to have been the rule and women did not wear a veil. This seems to have given rise to all the accusations of immorality that their enemies invented. The use of wine was strictly forbidden. The religious prescriptions of Islam —daily prayers, Friday service, fasting, etc.—had been abolished.

[1] de Goeje, 'Carmatians,' ERE.
[2] Mamour, Polemics, p. 179 ; Taylor, History of Mohammedanism and its Sects, p. 171.
[3] Zakir Husain Jafar, Tarikhi Salatin Fatimiyya, pp. 53/54.
[4] Mez, Adam, The Renaissance of Islam, pp. 304/305.
[5] Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

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> They had regular meetings for teaching the Ismailian doctrine. The Quran had not lost its sacred character with them ; but it was to be read according to its spiritual meaning. They dressed in white and had white banners, symbolising the religion of light which they professed, and the purity of life required of its followers.[1]

Voluntary subscriptions maintained a *dār al hijra*, or place of refuge, and a common treasury. They collected " for the Imam " an offering representing one-fifth of all property paid at one time, and one-fifth of all income paid annually.[2] While they were waiting for the Imam to return these sums were apparently used in lieu of taxes, for Naṣīr Khusrau indicates that the people were free from taxation and the poor were helped in various constructive ways.[3]

The payment of ' the fifth ' was not " the only act of devotion expected from the believers. Their chief duty was to lead a life of purity and brotherly love." What historians have said of their loose morals now appears to have been base slander.

> They had an ideal, for the realization of which they were ready to make the greatest sacrifices, and which seems to have influenced, if not governed, their whole existence. For purity of life was required of each member of the community. And as for their social state the above mentioned authors attest their admirable union, their excellent administration, and their institutions on behalf of the poor.[4]

L. Massignon is among those who have used the term Qarmatian to cover the whole Ismā'īlī movement, yet he correctly detects the social application which characterized the Qarmatian branch as also all Ismailism in its initial stages when he says :

> In the broader sense, (Qarmatian) means the great movement for social reform and justice based on equality which swept through the Muslim world from the 9th to the 12th centuries of our era.[5]

Bernard Lewis also pays tribute to the social significance of Ismailism.[6] Those who seek for an answer to the question of why such movements spread will find at least a partial answer in this social emphasis which pervaded the movement through many years, and in a variety of forms.

[1] de Goeje, Carmatians, ERF, pp. 222/225.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 223.
[3] Lewis, *op. cit.*, pp. 99/100.
[4] de Goeje, Carmatians, ERE, p. 225.
[5] L. Massignon, Qarmatian, EI.
[6] Lewis, *op. cit.*, Ch. IV, pp. 90/100.

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Without Imams Bahrain was ruled by a body known as the *Iqdaniya*, composed in later years of twelve members, but in the time of Abū Sa'id, of six. The leader held his power with the consent of the council.[1]

The bond of kinship between Qarmatians and Ismailis re-asserted itself in later years. The exact manner in which this rapprochement was effected is not known. Lewis thinks that the Qarmatians " were won over *en masse* to the Fatimid cause "[2] in the early fourth /tenth century. Ivanow considers it more like a reabsorption into the parent fold than a " conversion."[3] Even after the recognition of the Fatimid Imams the Bahrain government continued to function until it was overthrown about A.H. 475. The entering wedge which led to its fall was permission secured by Sunni neighbours to erect a mosque for travellers and others, in which, when it was completed, the *khuṭba* was read in the name of the Abbasid *khalīfa*.[4] This also, the Qarmatians, on the advice of their governor, ibn 'Arhan, agreed to. But in A.H. 450 when the Fatimids had established their authority in Baghdad, these Sunnis continued the *khuṭba* in the name of the Abbasid *khalīfa*. This too, after a protest, was accepted. Abū Bahlul, the Sunni leader, had by now detected the weakness of the Qarmatians and gradually exploited it, finally overthrowing the Qarmatian State.

[1] de Goeje, *op. cit.* ; Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 99.
[2] Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 80.
[3] Ivanow, Ismailis and Qarmatians, JBBRAS, 1940, pp. 82 /83.
[4] de Goeje, La Fin de L'Empire des Carmates du Bahrain, JA, 9th series, V, p. 6 ff.

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CHAPTER XIV

The Fatimid Imams

To al Mahdī belongs the honour of establishing the Fatimid dynasty. It seems like a long detour in understanding the Shī'a of India to trace development of a mediæval empire in North Africa, but each ruler of the dynasty is an Ismā'īlī Imam as well as *khalīfa* of a State, and as Imams they are very intimately connected with the Ismā'īlī communities of present-day India. The dynasty also has intrinsic interest in being the first major instance in which a branch of the Shī'a has ruled its own State. The date given with the name of each Imam is the year of assuming authority.

Al Mahdī, 296/909

On the first Friday after assuming charge of the government from 'Abdullāh al Shī'ī, al Mahdī's name was inserted in the *khuṭba* with the title of *Mahdī billāh amīr al muminīn*. Shortly afterwards people were compelled to be present in such public services and were invited to join al Mahdī's religion. On other days a person called Sharīf, perhaps Abū 'Abdillāh, conducted services with the dais. Nonconformists were imprisoned or killed. Kharijite teaching was widespread and dais were sent out to contend with it, for it was directed against the family of 'Ali.[1]

'Ubaidallāh al Mahdī applied himself diligently to the affairs of State. Abū 'Abdillāh al Shī'ī and his brother, Abū al 'Abbās, perhaps expected the Mahdī to be a puppet in their hands. They had been driven by the social urge, and the teaching of the new dispensation that actuated early Ismailism in Iraq, in Bahrain and elsewhere, and had expected that al Mahdī would give them the authority and freedom to make the revolution they had dreamed come true.[2] But al Mahdī held all power in his own hands. Thus frustrated, the brothers began to hatch treason, to arouse doubts as to the genuineness of al Mahdī who had not

[1] Zakir Husain, *op. cit.*, p. 46.
[2] Lane-Poole, S., Medieval Egypt, pp. 96/97.

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known the miracles and signs of his divine mission. When a shaikh of the Kitāma Berbers was sent with a delegation to ask that he show some miracle, 'Ubaidallāh simply put the shaikh to death. Soon after, he put al Shī'ī and his brother to death. Lewis thinks that it was this summary act of al Mahdī's that determined the defection of Ḥamadān Qarmat and 'Abdān in Iraq.[1] This, with doubts of Mahdī's background, may well have steeled the purpose of Ṭāhir and his Bahrain followers to hold strongly to the faith committed to them. They formed an Ismā'īlī opposition. The genius of Shiism to differ, and to foster differences even among Shī'a, lost for them this opportunity to be undisputed masters in the empire of Islam.

Al Mahdī lived for some time at Raqqada and then moved to al Mahdīya. Early in his Imamate he named his son, Abū al Qāsim Muḥammad as his successor. Much of his time was occupied in consolidating his kingdom which he had received " ready made ", for the removal of the influence of Abū 'Abdillāh al Shī'ī had encouraged subordinates to establish their own little kingdoms. These were quelled by troops, often under the leadership of the Prince, in which role he distinguished himself. In 301, 302 and 304, attempts to conquer Egypt were made which extended Fatimid rule, though failing of complete success.

If we may judge from accounts, military necessities did not leave much time for attending to religious and social affairs. A small book of didactic aphorisms ascribed to al Mahdī was written by Qaḍī Nu'mān under the title *Ma'ālim al Mahdī*. He made some changes in the ritual. The morning call to prayer was modified by striking out the words, " Prayer is better than sleep," and adding " Come to the best of works ; Muḥammad is the best of created things." Ibn Ḥammād tells us that throughout the dynasty the changed call to prayer was followed by these words :

> May God preserve thee, O our Master, thee, the guardian of good order in this world and in religion ; thee who maintainest Muslims in the spirit of Islam ! May he save through thy power the companions of thy faith, and exterminate by the sword all those who are rebellious. May he be favourable to thee, to thy pious ancestors and to thy glorious descendants. Continual prayer until the day of the best judgment, and the end of our prayer is this : Glory to God, the Lord of the worlds.[2]

[1] Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 86.
[2] Cherbonneau, M., Documents inedits sur Obeid Allah, JA, 5th series, V, pp. 542/543.

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Al Mahdī also discontinued prayer from the month of Ramaḍān, and ordered that it should be preceded in this month by two days of fasting. In the seventeenth year of his reign he abolished pilgrimage. Ibn Ḥammād adds that "he carried away the Black Stone of the Ka'ba."[1] A similar error is made in *Tarikh i Maghrib*, where it says that the Stone was sent to 'Ubaidallāh. In this connection we read that when Prince Abū al Qāsim wished to bury his father the earth thrust the body out; again the body was placed in the earth and again it was rejected by the earth. Then the son was told that this was because the Black Stone had been removed. When Abū al Qāsim had given orders for its restoration the burial was completed.[2] Most historians have agreed that the Black Stone was removed by the Qarmatians in A.H. 317 and not returned until A.H. 339, and they also say that when returning it the Qarmatians said, "We took it by order and we have returned it by order." This has been taken to mean that if any order was given it could only have been by the Fatimids. We have already referred to an order said to have been given by 'Ubaidallāh himself. De Sacy adds this threat also made by al Mahdī:

> If you do not restore to the Meccans what you have taken from them; if you do not restore the Black Stone to its place, and if you do not return the cloth which covered the Kaaba, I have nothing more in common with you, neither in this world nor in the next.[3]

Al Mahdī died in 322/933. Chroniclers claim that there was a full eclipse of the moon on the night of his death.

Al Qā'īm, 322/933

Abū al Qāsim—non-Ismā'īlī sources say that in youth he had had the name of 'Abd al Raḥmān which was changed later to Abū al Qāsim Muḥammad—succeeded his father as Imam with the title of *al Qā'īm bi amri'llāh*. His grief at the death of his father was so great that throughout his reign he was never seen on the streets of Mahdīya on a horse;[4] only twice did he mount a horse for hunting; he never mounted the pulpit, and only once for 'Id. Lest confusion follow he did not announce the death of

[1] *Ibid.*
[2] Zakir Husain, *op. cit.*, p. 53.
[3] Expose de in Religion des Druses, I, p. 218.
[4] Cherbonneau, *op. cit.*, p. 452.

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his father for some time, and he sought to carry on the administration as the father would have done.[1]

Early in his reign he was faced with an imposter. ibn Talūt, a Quraishi, who claimed the throne as the son of al Mahdī. When his claim was proved false his own followers cut off his head and sent it to *ḥaḍrat* Qā'īm.

Al Qā'īm was known as a fighting man. For this he had had his training with his father's troops. His campaigns were widely extended and with his fleet he secured a footing in Italy, raided France, and had some successes near Syria. He captured Alexandria but had to withdraw. A Khariji by the name of Abū Yazīd led a rebellion which was prolonged and at one time threatened the capital itself.

Soberheim says that " al Qaim was a fanatical champion of Fatimid doctrines. . . . Courage, ability and tenacity cannot be denied to him."[2] It was on foundations that he helped to lay that his successors built their greatness.

Al Manṣūr, 334 /946

The third Fatimid Imam was Abū Ṭāhir Ismā'īl who on succeeding his father, took the title of al Manṣūr billāh. Until he he had quelled the rebellion of Yazīd he made no announcement of his father's death, lest the news hearten the enemy. Nor did he take the title of *khalīfa*, nor change the coins, nor the *khuṭba*, nor the banners. There is an interesting account in *Zahr al Ma'ānī* which shows not only the importance attached to the *naṣṣ*, but also gives a glimpse of the ceremony with which it was sometimes attended. Al Qā'īm " when the hour of death came . . . and his last moment approached,"[3] gathered a small group of dignitaries together, and had read to them the will by which he had named his son Ismā'īl as his successor right after the burial of al Mahdī. The will had been left through the years in the custody of Jawdhar who served as a slave under four Imams, but was highly trusted, for he had been trained in" the principles of purity and piety."[4] At al Qaim's direction this will was read and then the dignitaries " knelt in obedience " to Ismā'īl.[5] The

[1] Zakir Husain, *op. cit.*, p. 56.
[2] Soberheim, al Qaim, EI.
[3] Idris, *op. cit.*, p. 79, Tr. p. 273.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 70, Tr. p. 264.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 80, Tr. p. 274.

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father's parting advice to the son was that he should continue the campaign against Abu Yazīd.

This campaign was one that tested all the ability of the new Imam. The rebels held Kairawān and it was not until after two years of severe fighting and pursuit that Abū Yazīd was defeated. Badly wounded he was brought before al Manṣūr, who fell down in grateful worship of the Creator. Abū Yazīd was allowed to die of his wounds, and then his skin was stuffed with straw and put into a cage with two monkeys and the cage was taken from place to place as a proclamation of victory. 'Abd al Jabbār writes that after Abū Yazīd had been conquered al Manṣūr

> pretended to return to Islam. He killed the *da'is*, banished some of them to Spain and other countries, and said to the common people : ' If you hear anyone curse the Prophet, kill him, and I am behind you.' He listened to jurists and traditionists and deceived the common people. He pretended that ' whoever was of the *da'wa* and preached libertinism did so without the knowledge of my father or of my grandfather.' He lightened the taxes and affected an interest in jurisprudence (*fiqh*).[1]

The " return to Islam " cannot mean a return to Sunni orthodoxy, for the revolt that had just ended was a struggle for that kind of " return." Almost for the first time since the death of al Shī'ī a Fatimid Imam was sufficiently sure of his position to give serious attention to the sectarian programme that produced the dynasty. There was need for codifying the law of the sect, something that had never been done before. What would be more natural than that the Imam " listened to jurists and traditionists—and affected an interest in jurisprudence (*fiqh*) ? " In this task he had the assistance of that most capable jurist Qaḍī Nu'mān who had entered the service of the dynasty under al Mahdi in A.H. 313.

During the time of al Manṣūr, Nu'mān's " chief duty was probably the collection, preservation and copying of books."[2] The *Da'ā'im al Islam* was probably completed under al Mu'izz,[2] though there are some that think it may have been under al Manṣūr.[3] Ivanow describes this compendium of Ismā'īlī law as " perfectly reflecting the Ismailism which was the religion of the masses under the early Fatimids."[4] Fyzee describes it as " a miracle of

[1] Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 87.
[2] Fyzee, A. A. A., Isma'ili Law and its Founder, Is. Cul. IX, 1935, pp. 108/109.
[3] Ivanow, *op .cit*, p. 139.
[4] *Ibid.*

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Imam Mu'izz, the Imam having a mouthpiece in his great Qaḍī and *Hujjat* Nu'mān.'[1] It is quite probable that both Manṣūr and Mu'izz were in frequent conferences together with Nu'mān as he wrote. To those who only knew Ismailism as rankest heresy, or as continued warfare, the teaching of the *Da'ā'im* may well have seemed to be a teaching so orthodox as to appear like a " back to Islam " movement.

Two other observations may be added relating to 'abd al Jabbār's statement : firstly such team work as we have predicated in the writing of the *Da'ā'im* is exactly what we found in the days of Ismā'īl ibn Ja'far and his son Muḥammad and their associates whose joint effort gave birth to Ismailism ; or as we again found in the days of Aḥmad al Mastūr when another team produced the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al Ṣafa*. Secondly, Shiism or Ismailism, like many another movement, has found it necessary to expel or otherwise dispose of enthusiasts who refuse to work under direction of a controlled *da'wat*, or organization.

Al Mu'izz, 341 /953

On the death of al Manṣūr, his son, Abū Tamīm Ma'add succeeded in the Imamate with the title of al Mu'izz lidīni'l lāh. In many ways he seems to have been a remarkable man and his ability has been recognized even by anti-Fatimids. He has been described as wise, able, courageous, liberal, just, beneficient, virtuous and learned in philosophy and science. He was trained in the affairs of state and religion, and skilled in astrology. As with his predecessors he had to suppress uprisings, especially in the western part of his empire (Morocco). He conducted a campaign in Italy, but the outstanding political event in his reign was the conquest of Egypt. When in 375 /969 the Ikshid king died leaving only a boy of eleven to succeed him, the people of Egypt invited Mu'izz to come to Egypt. An Ismā'īlī report claims that the king had secretly accepted Ismailism.[2] The Imam welcomed the opportunity and entrusted the military campaign to his general, Abū al Ḥasan Jauhar, who entered Fustat the next year. His first task was the erection of a new capital near the old which he called Qāhirah, the modern Cairo, He had al Mu'izz's name read in the *khuṭba*, and introduced a coin of the dynasty to supplant those of the Abbasid dynasty. To the *aḍhān* the words

[1] Fyzee, *op. cit.*, p. 108.
[2] Gibb, A. R., al Mu'izz, EI.

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"Come to the best of works" were added; the *Basmala*, said in an audible voice, was included at the time of prayers; and after the *khuṭba* the names of the family of the Prophet were read.

In 359 Fatimid power was extended to Syria by the capture of Damascus. Ḥasan, a grandson of Abū Sa'id of Bahrain, had with the aid of the Buwaihid princes, taken Syria and held it for the Abbasids. In losing Syria to the Fatimids, Ḥasan lost an annual tribute of three hundred pieces of gold. This seems to have completed the break which had come between the Fatimids and the Qarmatians following the death of Abū 'Abdillāh al Shī'ī.[1] Ḥasan attacked Egypt, leaving the general in charge of another campaign in Syria. Ḥasan was easily defeated.

In 362/972 Mu'izz moved his capital from the west to Cairo. It was his intention to repulse the Qarmatians if they made a second invasion, but he first wrote a long letter to Ḥasan representing to him that since the doctrines they professed were the same, the two groups should live on good terms. Ḥasan received the letter and replied:

> We have received your letter which offers an excess of words but of very little consequence. We will follow soon after our reply, adieu.[2]

He was as good as his word and did invade, and having made allies of the Ikshids and others he was enabled to reach the gates of Cairo. He was only defeated and driven off when Mu'izz won over the strongest ally by bribery. This opened the way for the extension of Fatimid power through Syria and by 363 the *khuṭba* was read in the name of the Fatimids in Mecca and Medina.

The Fatimid *da'wat* was continued and it would seem to have been strengthened during this Imamate. Qāḍī Nu'mān held the important office of *Qāḍī al Qudāt* and along with the Imam mounted the pulpit on Fridays and the two 'Id feasts. An epistle from al Mu'izz to the chief *da'i* in Sind, "where he had a powerful following,"[3] shows not only how far flung Fatimid propaganda was, but the fact that this epistle was from the Imam indicates how personal an interest he took in the problems of the *da'wat*. This epistle is interesting also because the *da'i* had sent a list of questions among which one, at least, inquires concerning "the idea that there were seven Imams (*khulafā*), and that their number has become complete with the seventh of them."[4] Mu'izz, in

[1] Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 113.
[2] Defremery, *op. cit.*, p. 378.
[3] Gibb, H. A. R., al Mu'izz, EI.
[4] Ivanow, Ismailians and Qarmatians, JBBRAS, 1940, p. 74.

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his reply, shows that the questioner had in mind that particular teaching which we have found characterized the Qarmatians, who "have arbitrarily limited (the period of the Imamate) by (the death of) Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl." This group in Sind has been spoken of by historians as Qarmatian, yet their chief *da'i* belongs in the Fatimid *da'wat*. The epistle shows how closely bound the community was, even when great distance separated them. This would be more clear if we could be sure that the question arose after the chief *da'i* had been approached by Qarmatian representatives following the taking of Damascus in A.H. 359, when Ḥasan may have urged them to sever their connection with Imam Mu'izz. If this was the case, we can consider that the Imam won, for we find the Sind "Qarmatians" still owing allegiance to the Fatimids after the Bahrain kingdom had fallen.

In 364/974 the *'Id i Ghadīr* was observed in Egypt for the first time with a great deal of splendour.[1] The previous year the death of Ḥusain was celebrated "with unwonted publicity at Cairo." Shias insulted the Sunnis and street fights were prevented by closing the gates which separated the various quarters of the city.[2]

Several historians refer to evidences that Mu'izz as the seventh Imam, claimed for himself authority to initiate a new era, even making pretensions to divinity. We shall deal with these in the next chapter.

Mu'izz died at Bilbis while returning from a campaign against the Turks and Qarmatians, in 365/975. We may note in passing two ways in which Fatimid accounts of their Imams differ from those of *Ithnā 'Asharīya* Imams; there is no effort to show every Imam as a martyr, and their places of burial do not soon become shrines and places of pilgrimage.

Al 'Aziz, 365/975

The eldest son having died earlier,[3] Mu'izz was succeeded by his second son, Abū al Manṣūr Nizār al 'Azīz billāh. He lacked the force of his father. Zakīr Ḥusain says that he kept in their respective offices Yaqūb ibn Killis the *wazīr*, and Abū al Ḥasan 'Ali, son of al-Nu'mān as associate of Abū Ṭāhir until the latter's

[1] Zakir Husain, *op. cit.*, p. 72.
[2] Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 115.
[3] Gottheil, R., A Distinguished Family of Fatimid Cadis, JAOS, XXVII, second half, 1907, pp. 229/230.

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death, when he took his place as Qāḍi, and a little later as the first Qaḍi al Quḍāt of Egypt. His appointment was not only over Egypt but over other countries subject to it. Records agree that the affairs of the *da'wat* did not continue as strong as they had been under Mu'izz. On the political side fortunes varied.

'Azīz is known as a builder. The Jama' Masjid was commenced by 'Azīz but completed by his son and known as the Al Ḥākim mosque. It is now in ruins. It was the last of the spacious congregational mosques intended to meet the needs of the larger part of a population.[1] After this wazirs, rulers and others built smaller mosques. The Al Azhar university started under Mu'izz and completed in 'Azīz's reign has continued since that time as the outstanding educational institution of the Muslim world. In Cairo and its environs " new mosques, palaces, bridges, canals and dry docks were built."[2] 'Azīz regularly attended the mosque on Fridays during Ramaḍān, " and performed the prescribed service in the presence of the people."

Koenig tells us that the Fatimid power was most widespread during this reign—" his name being prayed for in the mosques from the Atlantic to the Red Sea, in Yaman, at Mecca, and once even in the pulpit of Mosul."[3] In this last place the coins of the Fatimids came into use and its banners bore his name. On the death of Mu'izz the *khuṭba* was again read in the name of the Abbasid *Khalīfa* at Mecca and Medina until 'Azīz re-established the recognition of his right by military action. But near the end of his reign, Fatimid authority, in the west particularly, was very weak. Until now the successive rulers in this dynasty had depended upon the Kitama Berbers for their fighting forces; 'Azīz was the first to employ Turks and Persians (Dailamis) in his army at Cairo.

Although the Fatimid policy emphasized tolerance and we find Jews and Christians employed at different times, during this Imamate tolerance reached a specially high level, due perhaps to the fact that 'Azīz's wife was a Christian. That community enjoyed more of tolerance in this reign than under any other. 'Azīz encouraged discussions between Christian and Muslim divines, and would not prosecute apostasy by Muslims. He also permitted the rebuilding of a Christian church near Fustat. He commenced the practice of fixed salaries for employees of the

[1] Devonshire, Henriette, Mosques and Shrines in Cairo, Is. Cul., No. 4, p. 562.
[2] Koenig, N. A., Al Aziz, EI; Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 123.
[3] Al Aziz, EI.

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State, forbidding brides and presents, and insisted that no payment should be made without a written order.

'Azīz died in 386 and was buried in Cairo. Lane-Poole eulogizes him as " the wisest and most beneficent of all the Fatimid Caliphs of Egypt,"[1] but like most human beings he had his fads.

> Of a somewhat luxurious nature al Aziz spent vast sums on garments of a fashion and magnificence hitherto unknown to the Egyptians ; new dishes were served at his table, and his love of rarities brought many strange animals to Cairo.[2]

The writers of this period were of very small calibre compared with Qāḍī Nu'mān, but a few works of significance to the Ismā'īlī *da'wat* were forthcoming. The *Istitār al Imam*[3], from which we have had occasion to quote, belongs to the period of this Imamate. Muḥammad ibn Zayd, a *da'i* of this time, wrote the *Kitāb al Balāgh*,[4] and another *da'i*, Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad al Mahdī, who was sent on a mission to Rai and was received there with hostility but contrived to escape, wrote *Risālat ilā jama'at ahl Rai*.[4]

Al Ḥākim, 386/996

Al 'Azīz had set out on a campaign to Syria when he was taken sick. Before his death in A.H. 386 he designated his son Ḥākim to be his successor. He was then a boy of eleven years, so the father appointed Khwāja Sara bar Jawān, the *daroga* of the castle as his guardian and regent. The oath of allegiance was given to Ḥākim. During the regency two parties contended for supremacy, the westerners and the easterners—the Kitami Berbers against the Turks-Persians. The latter won and he had the oath of allegiance renewed, but so powerful did bar Jawān become that Ḥākim, on assuming authority in 389, had him killed and appointed a new *wazīr* and a new commander-in-chief.[5]

Ḥākim's name continued to be read in the *khuṭba* at Mecca and Medina. A part of the kingdom, Ifrikiya or Tunis, now became independent and the Māliki school of the Sunnis was recognized. By A.H. 408 the Shias were killed off or burned alive, so that none remained. But in the other direction, as early as 402, the ruler of Mosul had the *khuṭba* read throughout his domain in the name

[1] *Op cit.*, p. 113.
[2] Koenig, *op. cit.* ; Cf. Zakir Husain, *op. cit.*, p. 79.
[3] Ivanow, Rise of the Fatimids, pp. 7, 157 ff.
[4] Ivanow, Guide, pp. 41/42.
[5] Zakir Husain, *op. cit.*, pp. 84/85.

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of Ḥākim.[1] In 396 a rebellion in Egypt was led by a member of the Umaiyad family fleeing from Spain. He secured a large following and for two years defied the Fatimid power, but was at last defeated.

Near the close of this reign the first manifesto against the Fatimid origin of the dynasty was issued in Baghdad, provoked perhaps by the later events of this reign and also by its increasing threat to Baghdad.

Important as some of these events were in themselves and for the dynasty, of much greater significance for our narrative is the drawing of the changing religious picture for which Ḥākim is most remembered. In doing this we can only depict some of the features indicating how Ḥākim violated the highest standards of Ismailism and also the principles of humanity which had so far characterized it.

In the beginning of his reign his conduct was, generally speaking, true to the sectarian form. There was the case of a man who claimed to know Muḥammad the Prophet, but denied knowledge of 'Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib. He was tried and given an opportunity to acknowledge 'Ali before four witnesses but refusing to do so was beheaded.

Ḥākim wished anyone who had complaints or requests to be able to reach him and he made this possible by being available to any who would say, " I believe that 'Ali is the wali of God."[2] About A.H. 399 in Ramaḍān, an ordinance was issued according to all Muslims full liberty of conscience, in times of praying, fasting, etc.[3]

The Dār al Hikmat, or Hall of Science, which had been closed for a period was reopened and used particularly for the propagation of Shiite doctrines, and also for the teaching of all branches of learning. It contained a good library and was open to all. Lectures were given on the Imam, jurisprudence, astronomy, grammar, Arabic and medicine. Free tuition and free lodging to students of all nations were given, and teachers were the ablest. Among those who came to Egypt now was Ḥamīd al dīn Kirmāni, who had been leader of the *da'wat* in the east and who was called Ḥujjat al Iraqain.[4]

Enmity against the first three *khulafā* and other Campanions was indicated when anathemas against them were written on the

[1] Mamour, *op. cit.*, p. 18 n.
[2] Zakir Husain, *op. cit.*, p. 89.
[3] de Sacy, *op. cit.*, p. 394.
[4] Hamdani, H. F., Some Unknown Ismaili Authors, JRAS, 1933, p. 372.

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walls of all mosques, inside and out, in coloured or gold letters. These were not erased until the ninth of Rabi' II in 397, having been an offence to Sunnis for nearly two years. In 396, the martyrdom of 'Ali and his sons was commemorated during the first ten days of Muḥarram and Ḥākim publicly cursed the Companions of the Prophet. In this year Ḥākim made large grants to the holy cities and sent a special white cloth as a cover for the Ka'ba.

Some of the changes Ḥākim made possessed religious significance, as, for instance, the prohibition of all wines and liquors and the destruction of vineyards. Many regulations seem to have been largely provocative, disregarding entirely the feelings and conveniences of his subjects, even though they were not permanent: because he considered *tarāwiḥ* or prayers of twenty parts during Ramaḍān as a heresy he forbade them; also he forbade the beating of the castle drum and the blowing of the bugles; he forbade women from coming out of their houses into the streets whether by day or by night, or even to look out through windows or from the roofs; and merchants were commanded to carry with them something by which they could pass articles from the outside through a doorway or a window, and draw back again the money which had been placed in them as the price of the article sold. At another time he required that all the gates of the city should remain open all night, and the streets be well lighted. Nor could shops be closed at night for it was at that time that Ḥākim liked to ride through the city sitting on a donkey and accompanied by his slave, Masaud. If on these rides he saw any injustice, such for example as selling under weight, he would speak to the slave who would punish or disgrace the offender.[1]

Many of his regulations violated the principle of toleration that had marked most of the members of his dynasty.[2] Ḥākim ordered Jews and Christians to wear black turbans; Jews were compelled to wear a heavy metal bull around their necks while Christians had to wear the cross; Jews and Christians were forbidden to ride on camels or horses but only on donkeys and neither group could employ Muslim servants or ride in boats that belonged to Muslims. At one time he ordered all astrologers to leave the country, but on their beseeching he permitted them to stay. In 399 a church was destroyed in Cairo and pillaged; in 403 several thousand churches and monasteries in Egypt and Syria were

[1] Zakir Husain, *op. cit.*, pp. 88/89; Mohsin Fani, *op. cit.*, p. 335.
[2] Zakir Husain, *op. cit.*, p. 89; De Sacy, *op. cit.*, pp. 335 ff.

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destroyed. In A.H. 400 Ḥākim ordered the destruction of the Church of the Resurrection at Jerusalem. It was plundered and torn down and such enormities perpetrated on the Christians there that opportunity was given to Peter the Hermit to so describe the harrowing details—and probably to exaggerate them—that the passion for vengeance was aroused and the terrible crusades were organized.[1]

As Ḥākim's Imamate continued we find it marked by a growing contempt for life, paralleling his disregard for the convenience of others. He proved to be most cruel. Many were murdered. " Officials were tortured and died like flies." A special department of the government, the *diwān mufīd*, was established for the management of confiscated property of murdered and disgraced officials.[2] In 405 he had his chief *qāḍī* killed after a faithful service of nearly seven years. His estate is said to have yielded an annual income of fifteen thousand pieces of gold.

Ḥākim was not only a patron of the arts and sciences, but he himself was something of an expert in astrology. About A.H. 400 he sent his chief *da'i*, Ḥamīd al dīn al Kirmānī, to Medina with instructions that he should there find a house which had belonged to his ancestor, Ja'far al Ṣādiq, and to dig up in it some arms and books dealing with Imāmīya doctrines, and to bring them to him. This he did. They found a Qurn, a bed and some household goods![3]

The best known Ismā'īlī writer of this Imamate is this same Ḥamīd al dīn. Among his books, of which there are several, is one of the Imamate in general, and another on al Ḥākim's in particular, called the *Mabāsim al mubāsharāt*. He supported the pretensions of Ḥākim, going so far as to explain the Hebrew scriptures allegorically for this.[4]

The explanation for the strange progressive change in Ḥākim is to be found largely in the influence of three men who came into his life: Ḥamza, Darāzī and Akhram. Accounts conflict and the final form of the story will be changed in details. The first two were dais, that is, they were approved representatives of an organization or of an individual. Ḥamza was a " *dā'ī* of Ḥākim,"[5] while Darāzī was a " *dā'ī* of the Bāṭinīya,"[6] a generic term which

[1] O'Leary, *op. cit.*, p. 157.
[2] de Sacy, *op. cit.*, pp. 373/377.
[3] Zakir Husain, *op. cit.*, p. 87.
[4] Ivanow, Guide, p. 45, No. 133; Mujtaba Ali, *op. cit.*, p. 85, n. 81.
[5] de Sacy, *op. cit.*, p. 432.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 384.

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includes a number of sects that stressed allegorical or hidden meanings in the Quran. Shiite dais from one group or another were everywhere, for Shiism knew how to use propaganda and their dais were trained for very varied and specific tasks. Whether these dais came on their own, or whether they were instruments of a programme that found its opportunity in Ismā'īlī cycles, and sought to use Ḥākim as the " seventh " in some cycle, we do not know. That Ḥamza and Darāzī both came about A.H. 407, Ḥamza preceding Darāzī, may have been a fortuitous circumstance or—may it have been a planned propaganda ?

'Ali ibn Aḥmad Hādī, known as Ḥamza, was a native of Zanzen in Persia.[1] He established himself near a mosque by Bāb al Naṣr. Here be began teaching that God was incarnated in Ḥākim, and gradually was joined by a group who believed him. In the course of Ḥākim's roamings Ḥamza contacted and interested him. Gradually the group was drawn into association with Ḥākim, some of them receiving honourific titles. Later in the year of his own arrival, Ḥamza was joined by Darāzī. He was probably a Turk, from Bokhara in Persia. He described himself as Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl, though his name was Nashtakin. He believed in metempsychosis and accepting Ḥamza's teaching, wrote a book that claimed that the soul of Adam had passed into 'Ali and then through his ancestors to Ḥākim. Darāzī worked himself into service with Ḥākim and attained to a position of some rank. He had sufficient courage to read his book in the mosque. Darāzī also taught the abolition of the outer practices of Islam—fasting, prayer and pilgrimage. Gradually Ḥākim ceased to attend prayers at the mosque on Fridays, Ramaḍān, and the two 'Id festivals. He stopped all pilgrimages to Mecca for a period and discontinued the provision of the covering for the Ka'ba. Muslims became horrified for it looked as though he had renounced Islam.

An attempt was made to kill Darāzī. Accounts differ, for some state that he was killed ; others, including de Sacy, that he escaped with Ḥākim's help to Syria. Druse records show that he died in A.H. 410 or 411, killed by some Turks. The third member of this influential band was Ḥasan ibn Ḥaidara, known as Akhram. He too was a Persian, who reached Egypt in 409. He, too, accepted the teaching of Ḥākim and became active in the propagation of the beliefs, working with Darāzī. He formed a group that permitted sexual license in all relations, and is said to have led a group of some fifty into the mosque. He attained

[1] This account largely follows de Sacy, *op. cit.*, pp. 377 ff.

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some position with Ḥākim, following him, mounted on a fine horse, and dressed in fine clothes. On one such occasion he was attacked and killed.

By A.H. 405, or a little later, under these and probably other influences, Ḥākim commenced to dress in a black robe. He let his hair grow long and rode about only on an ass accompanied by only one or two attendants. He then placed spies around, even employing women in harems, and with his own prowling learned facts which made him appear to have a sort of omniscience, so that by 408 he claimed divinity for himself and required everybody to rise when his name was read in the *khuṭba*. This was done throughout the State even in the holy cities. In Egypt people went further and many prostrated themselves when his name was heard.

One is surprised that Ḥākim escaped violent death in a period when that course was so commonly taken. Surely there must have been many who were prepared to accept his claims, whose influence served to quieten others. He seems to have instilled in people a sort of holy fear, and they dared not touch him. Yet he knew his danger and whether through his own knowledge of astrology, or otherwise, he feared for the night of the twenty-seventh Shawwāl, A.H. 411. Ḥākim had built a special retreat for himself on the top of a small hill near Cairo and he used to go there for quiet worship and study of the stars. As he prepared to leave for this retreat on that fated night his mother stopped him, but after a short interval he told her that if he did not go his spirit would leave his body. He went, and never returned. Extended search was made for him, messengers being sent hither and yon. They found the ass on which he had ridden and, nearby, they found his clothes still buttoned up, pierced through with a dagger. These were taken to Cairo and shown to the people. Little doubt could remain that he had been murdered. Darāzī, on escaping from Egypt, had fled to Syria and continued his preaching there, and the Druses of Mt. Lebanon worship Ḥākim and swear by his absence even to this day, expecting his return either at the end of time, or when he will choose. In their books he is referred to as " Maulana al Hakim ali allahi shanah."

Ḥākim had arranged that he should be succeeded by 'Abd al Raḥīm who was a great grandson of the Mahdī, and men were commanded to salute him.

> ' Hail to the cousin of the commander of the faithful, the designated successor of the soveriegn of the Muslims.' His

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name was placed on the coinage, he received apartments in the royal palace, his name was inserted in the *khutba* and he acted as the Khalif's deputy in all business of state.

'Abd al Raḥīm came into disfavour about the time that Darāzī came on the scene and he was sent away from Cairo but given the important post of governor of Damascus.[1]

Several accounts agree in attributing Ḥākim's death to a plot by his sister, Sitt al Mulk, who had played an important part in the affairs of State. According to one of these accounts she had been accused of illicit relations with a person named Jaiwash. Either Ḥākim had attempted to punish him or desired to do so. The sister therefore conspired with Jaiwash for Ḥākim's death. According to this report Ḥākim's body was delivered to Jaiwash and buried by him in a place known only to himself. Another account connects Sitt al Mulk in a plot to support Ḥākim's son Ẓāhir against 'Abd al Raḥīm. A third states that Ḥākim had become angry with his *wazīr*, suspecting him as being in a plot to kill the Imam, and that the *wazīr* managed the murder through some who were opposed to his religion.

There were a great many who did not believe that Ḥākim died at this time. He was said to have retired into the desert after a vision of Christ such as Paul had, and to have died there. E. Graefe thinks this hypothesis is not improbable. As long after the incident as the end of al Ẓāhir's reign, many people still believed he was then alive. Also, there were reports of men who, resembling him, sought to pass as Ḥākim.[2]

Ḥamza would appear to have been the first to teach these strange doctrines regarding Ḥakim, but Darāzī was the most assiduous in propagating them. The Druses, though named from him, curse his name because having been taught by Ḥamza he wished to secure pre-eminence for himself over the teacher, and thus provoked sedition in Cairo. Darāzī " finds no place in the hierarchy of the Druses, but is said to be reviled under the form of a calf."[3] The sect as such was already established before Ḥākim's death, for Sell says, " So the sect of the Darazis, which Hakim now openly joined, grew largely in numbers and in power."[4] Ḥamdani writes that Ḥamīd al dīn urged Ḥusainī al Farghani, the precursor of Darāzī who in 408/1017 was trying to lead people

[1] O'Leary, *op. cit.*, pp. 172 ff.
[2] Graefe, E., al Hakim, EI.
[3] Lyde, S., The Asian Mystery, p. 65.
[4] Sell, Canon, The Druses, pp. 29 ff.

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astray, to give up his teachings. These admonitions were without success " for a year later the Druses led by Hamza Darazi, seceded from the original stock of the Ismailis."[1] A member of the Druse sect struck the Black Stone in the Ka'ba and, damaging it, rebuked the pilgrims for kissing " this which is useless and hurtful, and all the while neglect him who in Egypt gives life and death."[2]

> As his human form was only a semblance and ' the transparent veil of his divinity ', this death could only be a test intended to separate the Believers from among the hypocrites. Hakim was temporarily concealed in his divine Essence in order to reappear at the chosen moment to give over to his Faithful the domain of the world and to punish evil doers.[3]

The Druses are still found in the Lebanon and date their calendar as "the era of Hamza" which commenced in A.H. 408.[4] They look for the return of Lord Ḥākim, when he will be recognized and adored by people of all languages. While the Druse religion originated as an offshoot from the Ismā'īlī stem, and shows its affinity in the use of some similar terms, and also recognizing some of its Imams ; it is not a Shiite sect, nor are Druses found in India.

Al Ẓāhir, 411 /1021

Ẓāhir was born on the tenth of Ramaḍān, A.H. 395, and was 16 years old when he commenced his reign. His aunt, Sitt al Mulk, acted as regent. Evidently the regent shared the mistrust of the *wazīr* which has been mentioned, or sought shelter from any suspicions on herself, for when the *wazīr* came to pay his allegiance to the new *khalīfa* she had him killed by a servant who cried out : " This is the revenge for Hakim. He killed your father and leader and the commander of the faithful."[5] No others were punished. Sitt al Mulk ruled for four years and then died. She was succeeded in authority by the *wazīr*, who associated with himself two others. This clique virtually made of Ẓāhir a state prisoner. They were able to see him every day, but aside from the chief Qāḍī who was allowed to see him once in twenty days no other person was allowed to approach Ẓāhir at any time.

[1] Hamdani, H. F., Some Unknown Isma'ili Authors, JRAS, 1933, p. 375.
[2] Sell, Canon, *op. cit.*, p. 44.
[3] Lammens, H. S. J., Islam, Beliefs and Institutions, p. 163.
[4] O'Leary, *op. cit.*, p. 177.
[5] Zakir Husain, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

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During this reign there was an intense famine in Egypt and many took part in riots and plunder, which created a situation difficult to suppress. In 421 Zāhir designated his eight months old son as his successor and the occasion was made memorable by the distribution of a great deal of wealth to the poor.

One is surprised to find a good deal of religious activity in a reign in which the Imam was practically a prisoner, and yet we are told that Ẓāhir pushed the spread of Ismailism. In this he must have been ably assisted by an efficient Qāḍī. Although the extreme claims of Ḥākim were forgotten, or dropped entirely, religious activity was widespread. Dais were instructed to teach the *Da'ā'im al Islām* and to have parts memorized. Prizes were given to those who committed these to memory. Dais were sent to Baghdad and in 421 when there was a disturbance brought on by the Turks these were able to report many converts to their teaching. In 418 peace was established with Rome and this was marked by the construction of a mosque in Constantinople, where Ẓāhir's name was read in the *khuṭba*, and a *mu'adhdhan* appointed to that place. In appreciation of this right Ẓāhir had the temple reconstructed in Jerusalem, and he gave permission to those Christians who had professed conversion to Islam during the reign of Ḥākim to revert to their former religion if they wished to do so.[1] In contrast to this demonstration of tolerance and good will one is surprised to read of severe persecution of the Sunnis in Egypt[2] and the expulsion from that country of the divines of the Māliki school.

One reason for the continued friction with the Abbasids and other rulers, is suggested by an incident of A.H. 415. The leaders of the pilgrims from Iraq and Khorasan returned to their countries through Egypt and Syria. In Egypt, Ẓāhir showed to them many kindnesses and bestowed on them valuable robes of honour. Not unnaturally the Abbasid *Khalīfa* did not like this. The Iraqian was so severely reprimanded and threatened that he died in his grief. The Khorasani did not return home through Baghdad. He had been, in fact, a deputy appointed by the Governor of Khorasan for the pilgrimage and the *khalīfa* al Qādir wrote a report of the Naib's conduct to his master, with the result that the robes were sent to Baghdad where al Qādir had them burned. In 416 Ẓāhir sent a robe directly to Maḥmūd Ghaznavī—still engaged in Indian campaigns—who in turn sent it with a letter to

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 94/95.
[2] Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

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al Qādir asking for instructions as to what he should do with it. The *khalīfa* had it burned, but he first removed the gold that was in it, and distributed it to poor Abbasids. The opportunity was not lost for the cynic to point out that though the robe was unclean and its use not allowable, yet the use of the gold was not defiling.[1]

Al Mustanṣir, 427/1036

The small boy who had been designated as his successor by al Ẓāḥir succeeded his father in the Imamate at the age of seven, under the name of al Mustanṣir bi'llāh. His mother, a Sudani slave, wielded supreme influence during her life, although the *wazīr* who had served the father was continued with the son. He remained in power for eight years and then in the nine years following there was a succession of forty men in this office.[2] Not all of these were killed; some were removed only to find themselves in power again. Severe famines followed each other between A.H. 460 and 466. Conditions became so bad that people began to eat each other, and all kinds of wealth was sold cheaply, even the great library at Alexandria. Mustanṣir himself lost all that he had. In 467/1073, a year of abundant harvest, Naṣīr al Daula, a deposed general, changed his religion and became an enemy of Mustanṣir. He seized Cairo, kept the king a prisoner on one hundred dinars a day, and looted the country. His power was short lived, for a few Turks got entrance to his palace and killed him and two of his brothers. Confusion followed until Mustanṣir secretly summoned an Armenian, Badr al Jamālī, also a general, to be *wazīr*. He entered Cairo in 466 and Mustanṣir turned over to him everything except his palace. He received titles and robes and jewels. He was a great administrator, restored quiet, and won again some of the territory that had been lost. He died in A.H. 487. Badr built the great mosque in Suk-al-Attarin al Alexandria, completing it in 479/1086. He is also said to have built the 'Chapel of the Head' at Ascalon, where the head of Ḥusain was interred before its removal to Egypt.[3] Badr al Jamālī was succeeded by his son, who took the title al Mālik al Afdal—a true indication of the power he wielded. His place was further assured by the fact that his daughter had married Musta'lī, the younger son of the Imam.

[1] Zakir Husain, *op. cit.*, pp. 95/96.
[2] Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, pp. 140 ff.
[3] Ibn Khallikan, (de Slane) I, pp. 613, 615.

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At Mustanṣir's accession the Fatimid empire was in fact little more than Egypt. In 1063 'Ali the Sulaihid who had subdued the Yaman and the Hijaz " proclaimed the divine right of the Fatimid Caliph in every pulpit ". In 1059, for most of the year, the *khuṭba* was read in Mustanṣir's name at Baghdad, and the robes, turban and jewels of the *Khalīfa*, al Qā'īm, as also his pulpit, were removed to Cairo, and not returned until the end of the dynasty. The pulpit is said to be still in Cairo.[1]

Earlier in the reign, 444/1053, the Abbasid ruler had issued another manifesto denouncing the ancestry of the Fatimid dynasty much as they had in 1011, at the end of Ḥākim's reign. Copies of the proclamation adopted were posted in all the cities. Lewis speaks of the emphasis placed in this on the Jewish ancestry of the dynasty. He says

> it is no accident that Ibn Malik, the first to attribute a Jewish ancestry to the Fatimids, lived during the reign of Mustansir when Jewish influence was at its height.—The proof that they are of Jewish descent is their employment of Jews in the vizierate and in governorship, and their delegation of the administration of affairs to Jews.[2]

The Imamate of al Mustanṣir proved to be of great importance in the future of the Fatimid *da'wat*. First in significance was the adhesion of Yaman to the Fatimid side. At the time of al Mahdī's flight, we are told that it was his intention to go to Yaman where Ibn Haushab had won the country for the Ismailis. Yaman continued under Baghdad until 429/1037, when 'Ali ibn Muḥammad al Sulaihī became master of the country, declaring himself independent, and acknowledging allegiance to al Mustanṣir as Imam. Correspondence between Mustanṣir and members of the Sulaihid family has been preserved, and a copy is in possession of the School of Oriental Studies in London,[3] entitled *al Sijillat wa't-tawqi'at wa'l kutub li-mawlana al Mustansir billah*,[4] collected by Idrīs Imād al dīn. These indicate that friendly relations had earlier existed between Yaman and Cairo. The letters cover a period of about forty years from A.H. 445. 'Ali ibn Muḥammad had established peace in Mecca on behalf of al Mustanṣir. In gratitude, Mustanṣir gave robes of honour to 'Ali and additions were made to the titles of his three sons. He also noted the

[1] Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, pp. 138/139.
[2] Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 68.
[3] Hamdani, H. F., The Letters of al Mustansir billah, BSOS, 1933/1935, pp. 308/312.
[4] Kraus, P., Bibliographic Ismalienne de W. Ivanow, REI, 1932, p. 486.

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contribution of the Sulaihid's wife. 'Ali ibn Muḥammad was killed in 459/1067. His son, Aḥmad al Mukarram, held the kingdom together and then retired to his summer capital at Dhu Jubla, where "his wife, Our Noble Lady Sayyidatun al Hurra, took up the reins of administration in the state and the Da'wat,"[1] with the assistance of premiers and commanders-in-chief. On the death of Aḥmad, his young son, 'Abd al Mustanṣir, was appointed as the nominal head of the State.

In 439/1047, a man who had been active in the *da'wat* in Shiraz came to Cairo and soon rose to the position of chief *hujjat*, or *Bāb al Abwāb* of Mustanṣir. He was Abū Naṣr Hibatullāh ibn Abī 'Imrān Mūsā ibn Dā'ūd al Muaiyad fi'l dīn al Shirāzī. He had travelled widely, and had fine qualities of leadership; he was an outstanding author with real literary power as well as a poet of great ability. The Grand Qāḍī of the Yaman during the time of al Sulaihid was at Mustanṣir's court in Cairo several years, living with al Muaiyad. The *Sijillat* include letters from al Muaiyad and the Imam, letters of felicitation, letters of condolence, letters describing an 'Id celebration, or approval and direction in matters of the *da'wat*. Repeatedly the Imam eulogizes Badr, who was both *wazīr* and chief *dā'ī*, saying that he "had raised the pillars of the Fatimid Kingdom after they had disappeared."[2] Two of these letters, No. 50 to the Queen, and No. 63 to al Mukarram, deal with India and tell how the Imam entrusted to Sayyidatun al Hurra the work of supervizing the *da'wat* in India, and mentions requests he had had to fill places of dais who had died in India.

The kingdom of the Sulaihids was short lived and broke up on the death of Sayyidatun al Hurra. But with great foresight she had separated the functions of the State from those of the *da'wat*, and al Muaiyad and Lamak ibn Mālik arranged for the transfer to the Yaman *da'wat* of the records of the Fatimid *da'wat* in the stormy days that were ahead, and it was this secret organization of the *da'wat* in the Yaman which has preserved for us not only these documents but many other copies of Islamic literature.

Sayyidna al Muaiyad wrote extensively. He was perhaps the last great representative of the united *da'wat*. His works are still popular with the Ismailis.[3] Badr al Jamālī also has to his credit a work entitled *al Majālis al Mustanṣirīya*, which is

[1] Hamdani, *op. cit.*, pp. 308/312.
[2] Hamdani, *op. cit.*, p. 317.
[3] Ivanow, Guide, No. XXVIII, p. 47.

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a collection of lectures given by Badr particularly on subjects dealing with Isma'ili speculations on the numbers 'seven' and 'twelve'. The work marks a definite stage in the tradition of recording *majalis*, or lectures.[1]

The second event with especial significance for the Ismā'īlī *da'wat* was the coming of Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ to Egypt in 471/1078. He had been a member of the *Ithnā 'Asharīya*, but coming under the influence of the dais in Iraq he was won to the Ismā'īlī beliefs, and because of his zeal and skill he was sent to Egypt to study and to be appointed to a place in the organization. He complains that in all the time he was in Egypt he did not get to see the Imam, but the Imam certainly heard about him, and Ḥasan returned to Persia as a *dā'ī* in 1081, and is mentioned as preaching openly in Dailem. Defremery says that he did this during Mustanṣir's reign.[2] A writer at the court of Ghazni mentions him as a preacher in Khurasan and Iraq. While in Egypt Ḥasan was known to be opposed to a change in a *naṣṣ* already made. After the death of Mustanṣir he was active in leading the propaganda for Nizār.

Following the tradition and practice of the Imamate, it would be expected that Nizār would succeed his father. Advocates of his side state that *he had been* properly designated. The Imam's death was sudden, and Nizār was not in Cairo. Before he could arrive al Afdal had allegiance sworn to the younger son, al Musta'lī. Partisans of this side insist that Mustanṣir had changed his designation of Nizār in favour of Musta'lī. In any case, the elder son was faced with a *fait accompli*—his brother was on the throne. If a story related by Defremery is true, it illustrates how little things may determine great events. Al Afdal, so the account goes, was mounted on his horse in the passage leading from the golden gate to the entrance of the palace when Nizār passed by. Al Afdal did not dismount; perhaps not even seeing him in the falling darkness, when Nizār called out: "Get down from your horse, O Armenian slave. How impolite you are."[3] It is said that al Afdal never forgave Nizār for that rebuke. But it is just as likely that Al Afdal did not act out of enmity toward Nizār so much as he was seeking power for his son-in-law and himself.

[1] Hamdani, H. F., Some Unknown Ismailite Authors, JRAS, 1933, p. 377.
[2] See: Margoliouth, D. S., Assassins, ERE, p. 139; Defremery, *op. cit.*, JA, fifth series, XV, 1860, pp. 153 ff.; Mujtaba Ali, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
[3] Defremery, *op. cit.*, JA, 1860, XV, p. 154.

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THE FATIMID IMAMS

Al Musta'lī, 487/1094

Little is recorded of the short reign of Haḍrat abu al Qāsim Musta'lī billāh. He had been born in 467/1074, and so was twenty years of age[1] when he became Imam and *Khalīfa* on the 18th of Dhul Hijja, the festival of *Ghadīr Khum*. The reign was marked with constant strife, and jockeying for position by parties. The governor of Alexandria and the Qāḍī who had sworn allegiance to Nizār in Alexandria were killed, as also many others. Defremery relates that Nizār and his two sons were taken to Cairo and imprisoned there until their death.[2] The Fatimid dynasty was soon but a shadow of its former self; its vitality was sapped by strife and intrigue. Its real rulers were the wazirs though others occupied the throne. The first of the crusades came during this reign in 1097.

The question of Nizār or Musta'lī determined the destiny of the Fatimid dynasty which had continued for two hundred years, but its prime significance for our narrative is rather in the cleavage that resulted in the Ismā'īlī *da'wat* which has continued until this day. Led by Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ, the Nizarian branch established a base in Persia. It is represented in India by the Khojahs, whose Imam is the Agha Khan. The Mustalian branch long based in the Yaman and in India is represented by the Bohras. They admit that Nizār had been officially designated[3] and that provincial agents had been duly informed, but it is their claim that al Mustanṣir, for reasons he deemed sufficient, designated Musta'lī as his successor at the time of his wedding when he was seated on Mustanṣir's right, or by informing his sister who told it after the father's death. Amir, in his epistle in support of the *naṣṣ* to Musta'lī also refers to the foresight of Mustanṣir when he told his arguing sons, Nizār and 'Abdullah, that the real Imam was still to be born.[4]

Throughout the dynasty the power of the Imam as *khalīfa* had backed the religious *da'wat* also. In Musta'lī's reign such power had gone, and even in Egypt, the *da'wat* had lost its grip.

[1] Fyzee, A. A. A., Al Hidayat Al Amiriyya, p. 131.
[2] Defremery, *op. cit.*
[3] Fyzee, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

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Al Amir, 495/1101

When Musta'lī died his son Abū 'Ali Manṣur was only five years old. He is known as al Amir and his grandfather, al Afdal al Malik, acted as regent. The boy-ruler was confined in the palace, "and prevented from indulging his passion for pleasure and amusements."[1] Notwithstanding all that al Afdal had accomplished, and on the whole he had administered well, when Amir reached maturity, he had al Afdal killed in 515/1121. In his place Amir selected Ma'mūn Abū 'Abdullāh as *wazīr*. It was only a short time before Amir was informed of a plot with Amir's brother Ja'far to kill Amir, put Ja'far in the place of the *khalīfa* and Ma'mūn to become the Imam on the ground that he was the son of Nizār by a woman who had left Egypt, and in whose behalf a *dā'ī*, Najibal daula abū al Ḥasan was already working in Yaman. Amir had Ma'mūn, his five brothers, and thirty attendants impaled.[2] The question of succession raised questions throughout the *da'wat*. Al Amir took it upon himself to write an epistle, or to see that one was written, *al Hidayat al Amiriya*, in answer to the propaganda of Nizarians, with a full explanation of how Musta'lī came to be designated in place of Nizār. The *sijill*, epistle, brought other criticisms, to which a supplementary answer was given with the title of *Iqa Sawa'iqi'l Irgham*, or, as Fyzee interprets it, " 'The fall of the lightning of humiliation' upon the enemies of the author."[3] In 524/1130 Amir was killed by ten Nizārī enthusiasts who attacked him while out walking.

There are three reports regarding Amir's successor :

(1) Most historians agree that Amir left no son.

(2) Some say that he announced that his wife was pregnant and would bear a son who would be the next *Khalīfa* and Imam. In the meantime 'Abdul Majīd Maimūn ibn Abi al Qāsim Muḥammad ibn al Mustanṣir was to hold the office in trust. This was the third son of Mustanṣir. He took the name of Ḥāfiẓ while regent. But a girl, not a boy, was born. Ḥāfiẓ, therefore, had the oath taken to him, not as regent, but as Imam.

(3) The Mustalians, however, believe that Amir left a son by name Abū al Qāsim Ṭaiyib who was two years and some months old, or only seven months, when he died, and that 'Abdul Majīd

[1] Ibn Khallikan, (de Slane) I, p. 614.
[2] Zakir Husain, *op. cit.*, p. 104.
[3] Fyzee, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

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was appointed as regent during the child's minority, but that after two years, Ḥāfiẓ definitely assumed the authority in his own right. Ṭaiyib went into concealment as his father had told those high in rank in the *da'wat* that he would. The Mustalians accept the necessity of the Imam's being concealed from generation to generation, as a part of their creed.

Al Ḥamdānī says that Ḥāfiẓ was entrusted with the State affairs only, and that Da'i ibn Madian was made *Bāb* to the Imam, and a council of Dais was constituted as trustee for the son Ṭaiyib. "The Da'is then took al Ṭaiyib into concealment (satr) and nothing more was heard of him."[1] This period of *satr* will continue until an Imam descended from al Taiyib will reappear.

Before his death Amir sent a letter and an old handkerchief to Queen Hurra in Yaman informing her that his son would succeed him. The messenger, Muḥammad ibn Ḥaidara, gave her the letter but forgot the handkerchief until one day in emptying his pockets he found this old handkerchief and took it to the queen. She received it, and wept. When those present asked why she wept, she replied that the Imam had informed her by this of his death.[2]

Maqrizi tells of a mosque known as *al raḥma* which is also called the mosque of Abū Ṭarab, because he was the caretaker. He is also the person to whom the small child of Amir was carried in a basket after wrapping it up and covering it over with vegetables. Here in the mosque a wet nurse cared for him. And all of this was done without Ḥāfiẓ knowing anything about it![3]

The Mustalians do not recognize the last four Fatimid kings including Ḥāfiẓ. The dynasty closed in the year 544/1171.

[1] Hamdani, H. F., History of the Isma'ili Da'wat, JRAS, 1932, p. 128.
[2] Zakir Husain, *op. cit.*, p. 109.
[3] *Ibid.*

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CHAPTER XV

The Religion of the Fatimids

With the death of al Amir bi'llāh and the sudden disappearance of his small son al Ṭaiyib, the creative period of the Fatimids came to an end. It came to be a recognized principle of the Dais that "no original work could be undertaken without the permission of the Imam of the time."[1] After this date, we find writers reviewing and epitomizing earlier works. This period reached its zenith in the life and work of Sayyidna Idrīs 'Imād al dīn, a Yamanite *dā'ī*, who was born in A.H. 794 and died in 872. Ivanow has made some pertinent observations regarding Ismā'īlī literature.[2] Dogmatical works are numerous and some of them systematically arranged; controversial literature is large, but due to the necessity of dissimulation, written with indefiniteness; the most numerous group includes esoteric works which are often mere compilations; also there is a literature peculiarly Ismailian made up of collections of small works, like lectures, and a considerable number of biographies.

Cosmogony and Eschatology

In making a statement concerning Ismā'īlī doctrines of the Fatimid period we begin with *Zahr al Ma'ānī*, which was written by Imam Idrīs 'Imād al dīn and is really a compendium of Ismā'īlī esoteric teaching. It belongs to the Musta'lian line, and therefore also to the Fatimid. Here we read that

> The Supreme God is beyond our comprehension and has no relation with the worlds. Nothing can be predicated to Him and no attributes are applicable to Him. He is above all definitions of existence (*ays*) and non-existence (*lays*). We know nothing about Him. The only possibility of the recognition of His unity is to admit our inability to recognise Him. The nearest approach to the knowledge of the Supreme God (al-Mubdi') is only possible by the recognition of an intermediary.[3]

[1] Hamdani, H. F., A compendium of Isma'ili Esoterics, Is. Cul. XI, p. 211.
[2] Ivanow, Guide, 22/23.
[3] Hamdani, *op. cit.*, 212/213.

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This supreme God brought into existence the Intelligible world which is also called the World of Ideas. This world, at its inception, was one of harmony. The chief business of the First Intelligence was " to realize the bounty of his Originator, the transcendental greatness of the favour he received from Him."[1] Other Intelligences also came into being. The Third Intelligence, also called the Universal Soul, disturbed the harmony of the Intelligible World, by considering that it was equal to the second. The result was Evil. As a punishment the Third Intelligence had to create the Universe " in order to extirpate Evil which had manifested itself as Matter."[1] This appeared to be dualism and is probably the basis of Ibn Hazm's charge that Ismailians professed " the purest Magism," but true dualism was avoided by Ḥamid al dīn al Kirmānī who harmonized the two principles by introducing later Intelligences as emanations of the First Intelligence.[2] The Third Intelligence was demoted to the place of the Tenth, from where he had to work his way back into absorption in the Universal Soul.

Quite distinct from the Intelligible World was the Physical World which consisted of Matter and Form, with Time and Place, and which was created for a certain definite purpose, namely the extirpation of Evil.

The Several Intelligences are correlated with the hierarchy of the Ismā'īlī *da'wat* :

> The Imam combines in his person both the lower and the higher worlds ; he corresponds to the highest Intelligence, and the human dignitaries below him correspond to the dignitaries of the Intelligible World. This arrangement of the dignitaries seems to have been different in the different periods of Isma'ili history.[3]

As an example of one such arrangement we may take an account from Guyard where the Supreme God, by " an act of will," or through a manifestation, brought into being Universal Reason, in which all the divine attributes reside.[4] It is " God exteriorised " and in a sense may be thought of as the real Ismā'īlī God, for it is the only form in which he is knowable. From Universal Reason the Universal Soul was created, whose essential attribute is life. The Soul in its turn produced Primal Matter, which is passive, and from this in order came Space and Time. These five, with

[1] *Ibid.*, 214.
[2] Hamdani, *op. cit.*, pp. 214/215.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 217.
[4] Guyard, M. S., Fragments relatifs a la Doctrine des Ismaelis, pp. 9/10.

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God, and man, who is the highest of created things, give us the 'seven' units of the Spiritual World. The Ismā'īlī hierarchy is correlated with the 'five': the Prophet with Universal Reason, the *Asās* with Universal Soul, and then in order the Imam, the *Ḥujjat* and the *Dā'ī*. Man in his search for God can only reach Him through these successive intermediaries.

From the action of the Spiritual World, the celestial spheres are produced, each element occupying a sphere giving us, therefore, spheres of fire, moon, air, water and earth. The earth being the last is under the influence of the others and under them gives birth to vegetation, animals and minerals. Man seeks to experience, or to reach the Universal Soul and to acquire perfect knowledge in order finally to attain Universal Reason. When this will have been accomplished for all men, all movement will cease, and the entire creation, and Universal Reason itself, return to the "womb of God." This urge for man to return to Reason comes from Universal Reason, through effusions which penetrate to individual souls; but the way up for man is through the Prophet and the Imams who follow him.

Ismailism emphasizes cycles. Owing to differences in time and place one revelation is insufficient. There have, therefore, been cycles of revelation, each initiated by a Prophet or *Nāṭiq*, a speaker. These have been Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus and Muḥammad.[1] A Prophet or *Nāṭiq* brings a revelation of religious truth, not abrogating the revelation of his predecessor, but adapting it to the new time and situation. He is the speaker, the one who proclaims the revelation. With the Prophet throughout his life must be another known as the *Asās*, who is also, but less commonly, called the *Sāmit*,[2] or Silent One. After each Prophet there are six Imams, followed again by the seventh who initiates a new cycle, and really ranks as a Prophet. Distinctive of Ismailism in the Fatimid period is the place given to 'Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib, as *Asās*, or *Asās al Imāmat*,[3] the foundation of the Imamate, and is thus raised to a position above all other Imams.

The Imam differs from the Prophet for he brings no revelation, but simply interprets and enforces the esoteric meaning of the revelation brought by the Prophet, and known only to the Imams. Thus "world history consists in the continuance of the series of

[1] Hamdani, *op. cit.*, p. 215; Cf. Idris, *op. cit.*, pp. 54/55, Tr. p. 242 ff.

[2] Ivanow, W., Kalami Pir, p. 77, n. 1.

[3] Ivanow, W., An Ismaili Interpretation of the Gulshani Raz, JBBRAS, New Series, VIII, 1932, p. 71, n. 1.

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Prophets, each followed by the Imams of his period." The revelations do not basically differ but the crucial truth is in the esoteric meaning, which only the Imams know, and those associated with them in the different grades.

Ḥujjat, or proof, is another new term found in this period. In early Ismailism it was sometimes used for the *dā'ī* in charge of a district of which there were twelve or twenty-four *jazāir*, or islands. The *ḥujjat* sustains a very close relation to the Imam. Qāḍī Nu'mān is said to have risen to the rank of a *ḥujjat*;[1] al Kirmānī was the *ḥujjat* of Imam Ḥākim.[2] Al Muaiyad under al Mustanṣir took the name '*al Salmāni*'[3] because he considered himself to have the same relation to Imam Mustanṣir, which Salmān al Fārsi had to the Prophet and to 'Ali. Thus, toward the close of the Fatimid period, Salmān becomes the prototype of the *ḥujjat*—an office of still more importance under the Nizaris.

Also new is the term *Bāb*, door, used for the chief *ḥujjat*, as one through whom the Imam may be reached. Dr. Hamdani writes that Badr al Jamali, *wazīr* of al Mustanṣir, was called his *Bāb*.[4] This may help us to understand Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ's complaint that because of Badr and al Afdal, his son, he was not able to have an interview with Imam Mustanṣir. It is interesting to read that al Muaiyad, at the age of twenty-nine, had been a very successful *da'i* in Shiraz and Dailam, ultimately winning to Ismailism the Buwaihid prince, Abū Kalijar, at Dailam. Forced to leave that State by Abbasid pressure, he ultimately reached the court of al Mustanṣir. He too found it difficult to get an interview with the Imam as Abū Sa'id, the Jewish minister, was an obstacle in his way. Only after the murder of Abū Sa'id was al Muaiyad admitted to the court in 439/1048. From that time on he took an increasingly important part in the affairs of the *da'wat*, and finally rose to its highest rank as *Bāb*,[5] apparently after the death of Badr. We also meet the term *Bāb al abwāb*, door of doors, used for the chief *dā'ī* early in the dynasty, and meaning that as highest officer of the Imam, he was "like a 'father' of all the dais, who were all his subordinates."[6] This office was held by Ja'far ibn Abū al Qāsim ibn Haushab Manṣūr al Yaman under Mu'izz, and by al Muaiyad under Mustanṣir.

[1] Fyzee, A. A. A., Qadi an Numan, JRAS, 1934, p. 12.
[2] Hamdani, H. F., History of the Isma'ili Da'wat, JRAS, 1931, p. 129.
[3] Trittion, A. S., Notes on some Ismaili Mss., BSOS, VII, p. 35.
[4] Hamdani, H. F., Some Unknown Ismaili Authors, JRAS, 1933, p. 377.
[5] Hamdani, History of the Isma'ili Da'wat, JRAS, 1931, p. 129.
[6] Sirat Jafar, Tr. Ivanow in Rise of the Fatimids, p. 189.

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It was because al Mu'izz was the seventh Imam after Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl that there are reports of his claims to divinity as the herald of a new era. Soon after the conquest of Egypt he is represented as having confined himself to his palace for a period during which he employed spies in the city to inform him of all that happened. When his plans were completed he convened a public meeting in which he appeared covered with the most dazzling jewels, and made people think he had been raised to heaven. To support his claim, he revealed things that had happened during his absence. The incident, naturally, is reported to have made a great impression on the people. Guyard records an intimate prayer or soliloquy held by Mu'izz with God in which he seems to think of himself as an incarnation of Universal Reason through whom creation was manifested, and by whom even the Prophets were sent forth.[1] De Sacy, on the authority of Nuwairi, gives a letter which Mu'izz wrote to Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad in which Fatimid doctrines are set forth, including the doctrine that all creation had been made through the Imams and for the Imams, with the related claim that the soul of the Imam had passed successively generation by generation, from the beginning of creation, and that the real business of the *Nāṭiq* or Prophet had always been to call attention to the Imams.[2]

To point out that all accounts of claims to divinity are based on non-Ismaili and aften anti-Fatimid sources seems too facile and inadequate an answer. The accounts fit in with known Fatimid emphasis on cycles of seven—Mu'izz being such a seventh. A story involving concealment and spies is also told of al Ḥākim. It would be easy for the story to have been applied to al Mu'izz, through malice or otherwise. In the epistle which Mu'izz wrote to the chief *dā'ī* in Sind, to which we have earlier referred, the writer indicates that he is aware of his position of being the seventh Imam after Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl. He condemns those who would attempt to stop the line of Imams with Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl, to " cut what God ordered to be continuing,"[3] which also might mean that he had no intention of stopping the line now. The exceeding tact Mu'izz showed in retaining Qāḍī al Ṭāhir, a Sunni, at his Egyptian capital, rather than to precipitate a crisis even though he had brought al Nu'mān with him from Tunis, would likewise suggest that Mu'izz did not publicly affirm

[1] Guyard, *op. cit.*, pp. 168 ff.
[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 231/240.
[3] Ivanow, W., Ismailis and Qarmatians, JBBRAS, 1940, XVI, p. 75.

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any such doctrine as a ' seventh ' Imam might claim authority for. But yet we do read that Nu'mān " was struck by the refulgence of the Imamat from his (Mu'izz's) countenance," and since[1] the *Da'āim* was doubtless completed long before Mu'izz moved to Egypt, we should not expect it to throw light on any whims which Mu'izz may have cherished, or " toyed with," in the later years of his reign. Officially, at least, the Fatimid creed does not support the idea of deity of the Imam.[2] Surely de Sacy has gone too far when he concludes that the Fatimid system differs very little from that of the Druses.

In Ismailism salvation begins in recognizing the Imam of the Age. The soul of " a disciple or a dignitary," through acceptance of instruction, " becomes subtle and purified of grossness." He is then drawn at physical death to a superior dignitary until taken by it to a Lower Paradise, " the state in which the souls from all parts (jaza'ir) of the world rise to join in the Bāb of the Imam."[3] Here they receive " the final touch of the knowledge of the Imam," and when the Imam dies he " combines himself all the pure souls " of his period and carries them to the Tenth Intelligence. Ultimately they rise to the First Intelligence and " return to their Lord, being pleased." The bodies of the faithful are absorbed by the Sun and the Moon and there purified, after which they become absorbed into plants and animals and serve as nourishment for the Imam. The souls of unbelievers, those who have failed to recognize the Imam, " find no rest and wander to and fro " in darkness. " They struggle to rise towards subtlety but are set back." After a long period these darkened souls again assume human form and have new opportunity to recognize the Imam of the Age. The substance of the bodies of unbelievers passes through different stages of animal, vegetable and mineral worlds until it too is purified.

This process seems to be similar to the gnostic doctrine of Metempsychosis ; but the Isma'ilis emphatically dissociate themselves from it, drawing hair splitting differentiations. The gnostics assert that *tanāsukh* or *hulūl* means the entry of a soul into another body, while in the Isma'ili system an animal, for instance, consumes something which consists of the darkened substance of the body of Unbelievers and by this mechanical process makes the substance a part of itself. —The proposition of the doctrine of *tanāsukh* is a dualistic

[1] Fyzee, A. A. A., *op. cit.*, p. 10.
[2] Ivanow, W., A Creed of the Fatimids, Paras. 34, 36, 37, 90.
[3] Hamdani, H. F., A Compendium, Is. Cul., XI, pp. 218 ff.

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one ; in the Isma'ili conception both Body and Soul take equal part in the same natural process.[1]

There is a tendency among some Ismā'īlī writers, apparently from a desire to maintain regular standing for the sect, among orthodox Muslims, to represent its doctrines from the standpoint of the *ẓāhir*, or apparent meaning only. Since the actual Ismaili teaching consists not in the *ẓāhir*, but in the esoteric, *bātin*, hidden meaning, the actual differences between Ismailism and Ithna 'Asharism or orthodox Sunnism, are evaded. As an example, Shaikh 'Abdullāh in his tract *Ath-thimār ash shahīya fi tarīkh al Ismā'īlīya*, which seems to be an account of history, writes of the long rule of the Ismā'īlīya in Egypt without mentioning Fāṭima, or even naming the dynasty. Later in the book the author speaks of the Shiite position as insisting that there must always be an Imam of the Prophet's house. Here he speaks of Fāṭima as the trunk of the tree named in Quran XIV : 29. Such evasion of facts may easily deceive listeners, or readers, to a comfortable position of a unity in Islam.

A similar attitude is manifested by an Indian writer who relates a conversation centred around events in Ismā'īlī history, when one exclaimed :

> But what a pity that so much of enthusiasm, devotion, self-sacrifice, and other excellent things, was used merely to vindicate a sectarian point of view ! How much better it would be if this could be used for the benefit of Islam as a whole.[2]

There follows then an account in which the services of Ismailism are depicted as having done exactly that—strengthened Islam as a whole, with a minimum of reference to any sectarian references. We have given at some length this statement of the Ismā'īlī doctrine of God, the creation, eschatology, etc., because in these the sect has departed far from the orthodox position and also from that of the *Ithnā 'Asharīya*.

In the period following the founding of the Abbasid dynasty, Islam came into a new world through contact with Greek philosophy and science by way of Alexandria. It was here that Plotinus had blended the philosophies of Aristotle and Plato in the Neo-Platonic philosophy, and his disciples had carried forward his work. Many Abbasid *khulafā* welcomed academic discussions at their courts and some shared in the dialectics and disputations that they led to. The intellectual life of the country

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 220.
[2] Ismaili, Special ' Birthday ' Number, 18, 1941, p. 14.

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was profoundly affected. The influence of Greek thought is seen in Mutazilism which dominated the theological field for many years. Several tracts included in the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al Ṣafa* also reveal the intellectual stirring quickened by Greek science and philosophy. Neo-Platonism provided Islamic mysticism with the philosophy that underlies much in *taṣawwuf* or Sufism, and it is from the same source that Ismailism has drawn for its cosmogony. Here is found the concept of an Absolute or Godhead, abstract, unlimited, and unknowable ; here the pattern of emanations of Universal Intelligence and a Universal Soul, these three suggesting Plotinus' trinity. Here, too, the Soul gives rise to the phenomenal world, in all its forms among which man grows restless and has to find his way to rest by retracing the path of his descent back to the Absolute.

Turning now to the Ismā'īlī doctrines of the Fatimid period under the heads used in describing the religion of the *Ithnā 'Asharīya* ; the Foundations, The Doctrines, and Religious Duties, we will note the changed emphases found in Ismailism.

The Foundations

Among the ' Foundations ' in Ismā'īlī doctrine the Imamate easily holds first place. As with the Twelvers, the line of the Imamate is confined to the family of 'Ali and Fāṭima ; an Imam must have a male child, for to be without a successor would at once falsify the position of such Imam ; an Imam must clearly designate his successor, for only he can tell which son has received the *naṣṣ* ; and in this the Imam can make no mistake. The Imam in regular succession is an Imam *mustaqarr*. In case an Imam dies leaving a minor as his successor he may temporarily designate one to act for him until his maturity and such a ' temporary ' Imam is called *mustawda.'* This provision is thought to belong to the late Fatimid period.[1]

In Fatimid terminology the Imams of the first heptade, to Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl, are known as *atimmā* ; of the second heptade, through Mu'izz, as *khulafā*, and in the third heptade, through al Ṭaiyib as *ashhād*.[2] As we have pointed out elsewhere, 'Ali has been advanced from the rank of Imam to the higher place of *Asās*. The office of *waṣī* ends with the life of the individual in that position.

[1] Hamdani, *op. cit.*, p. 217.
[2] Ivanow, W., Guide, p. 8 n. ; also Rise of the Fatimids, p. 151, n. 3.

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In addition to the difference between the Prophet and Imam which we have already found in the use of the terms *Nāṭiq* and *Asās* or *Sāmit*, the author of *Tāj al 'aqā'id* emphasizes that while the office of Prophet is not continuous, that of the Imam "is a permanent institution in the world. Its permanence is a part of its nature."[1] The only hope that the work of "the Prophet and the *Wasi*" can bear its fruit lies in the Imamate. The Ismailis of this period recognize that while there can never be a time when there is no Imam (*ghaiba*), yet there may be a time when he may be concealed. They have special deputies in different parts of the world to lead people to them.[2]

Ismailism, like Ithna Asharism distinguishes between *imān* and *islām*.[3] To make a verbal profession is to be a Muslim, or to accept Islam; but to profess *and* to act and to determine to act in full accordance with the teaching of the Prophet is proof of *imān*, and makes a person a *mu'min*. In his defence of the position of Musta'lī as the real Imam in preference to Nizār, al Amir refers to the truth in this distinction of *imān* and *islām* by insisting that in what others called the clear nomination, first of Nizār and then of his brother 'Abdullāh, Imam Mustanṣir only gave them the title *walī 'ahd al muslimīn*, but to Musta'lī he gave the title *walī 'ahd al mu'minīn*.[4] The first title is also said by him to have been given to 'Abd al Raḥīm, a relation of al Ḥākim, who he is said to have intended to succeed him.

Ismailism requires every *mu'min* to swear allegiance to the Imam. Every person who wishes to belong to the *da'wat* enters "into a covenant with him on behalf of God." This is called *bai'at*. Men and women must both take a like oath in a ceremony known as *mithāq*.

> They must act righteously, oppose everything that is unlawful (*haram*) in the *shari'a* and keep secret those things and that religious knowledge which are entrusted to them.[5]
>
> Obedience (*tā'a*) to all dictates of the religion is the most important duty of the faithful.—Salvation can be attained only through such obedience, which should be complete, in word, action, desire and thought.[6]
>
> Whoever breaks his covenant and violates his oath of allegi-

[1] Ivanow, A Creed of the Fatimids, Paras. 34, 36, 37, 90.
[2] *Ibid.*, para. 61.
[3] *Ibid.*, paras, 72, 73.
[4] Fyzee, A. A. A., al Hidayatu'l Amiriya, p. 5.
[5] Ivanow, *op. cit.*, para. 45.
[6] *Ibid.*, para. 46.

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ance, disobeys God and His Apostle and, by doing so, is cursed and punished by ' painful punishment '.[1]

The Quran is accepted as the latest revelation of a religion, and it remains the basis of the only *shari'a* which Ismailism of this period knows.[2] Just how much this means is very doubtful, for we can be sure that what the Quran says to the Ismā'īlī will be very, very different from what is says to a Sunni, for while the latter accepts some degree of *ta'wīl* (allegorical interpretation) to the Ismā'īlī, it is an axiom that

> Ta'wil, or authoritative allegorical interpretation of the Coran and religious prescriptions, is indispensable (*wājib*) for the right understanding of the religion, in all its aspects. This equally refers both to the plain (*ẓāhir*) form of the religion, and to the (*bātin*) or abstract. . . . questions are answered by the (*tā'wīl*) of 'Ali b Abi Talib. . . . The Prophet . . . would necessarily speak only about plain matters connected with the visible world. But every statement in the Coran implies also a reference to the abstract ('aqliyya), and to the spiritual (*rūhāniyya*) meaning of it ; these require special elucidation by a qualified person, who possesses the necessary knowledge.[3]

Among Sunnis and among *Ithnā 'Asharīya* we found commentaries which would explain to the seeker the meaning of plain and hidden passages in the Quran. Ivanow states that he has been assured by " some learned specialists " in whom he has fullest confidence, " that there is no such thing as a work of *tafsīr* in Ismailism."[4] The obvious reason for this is that passages that need interpretation can be explained only by the Imam, and such secret knowledge is kept secret by the oath of allegiance.

The Sunna : As there is no commentary so there is no collection of traditions. The standard work of *fiqh* in Ismailism is Qāḍī Nu'mān's, *Da'a'im al Islam* which we have already seen is recognized as the work of the Imam. In this, not only as a pattern, but as a complete system of law, no traditions are used beyond the time of Ja'far al Ṣādiq and few if any before him excepting only Muḥammad al Bāqir.[5] This procedure was decided by order of al Mu'izz and removes at once questions of authenticity of traditions. For any later questions, the Imam is competent to give a complete answer. This means, therefore, that

[1] *Ibid.*, para. 49.
[2] *Ibid.*, para. 66.
[3] *Ibid.*, para. 60.
[4] Ivanow, Guide, p. 22, n. 1.
[5] Hamdani, H. F., Some Unknown Ismaili Authors, JRAS, 1933, p. 369.

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tradition in the sense in which he found it among Ithna Asharis is neither needed nor provided.

The principles of *ra'i, qiyās, ijtihād* and *istiḥsan* are all rejected on the ground of the proneness of human nature to err. The chief authority cited for this position is Ja'far al Ṣādiq.[1]

The Doctrines

We need pause but briefly under this head. Having already dealt with the Supreme Being in Ismailism, there remains only to add that the conception of God's grace, man's free will, etc., which Shiism had either drawn from, or developed together with, Mutazilism, are retained also in Ismailism.

Prophet

The place of the Prophet continues to be recognized. "Our Prophet Muhammad is the greatest (*afdal*) of all Apostles,"[2] and six proofs of this are given. But in a period when "seventh" Imams recurred, and others, like Ḥākim, accepted deity, it is not surprising to read that the *necessity of prophethood* engaged the attention of learned circles.[3] Abū Ya'qūb al Sijistānī who, with his teacher al Nasafī, was executed in Turkestan in A.H. 331, makes a vigorous defence of the principle of prophethood in his *Ithbāt al nubūwwat*.

Mahdī

Until the establishment of the Fatimid regime, Ismailis, as other Shī'a, were on the alert for the coming of the Mahdī who would establish justice everywhere. From the conception of a personal Mahdī who as *al Qā'im* would accomplish this change, the term, *al Qā'im*, came to be applied to individual Imams in the dynasty, and then the idea of the Mahdī became merged, so to speak, with the Imamate in the dynasty, whose mission comes to include the objects which the Mahdī was to effect, if not under one Imam then under one of his successors. Qāḍī Nu'mān relates how on one occasion "a certain important man" asked Imam al Mu'izz li dīni'llāh

[1] Ivanow, A Creed of the Fatimids, para. 44; cf. 56, 75.
[2] *Ibid.*, para. 29.
[3] Hamdani, *op. cit.*, pp. 367/368.

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> Art thou (really) the expected Mahdi, under whose authority God shall gather his slaves, making him the king of the whole earth, and shall the religion of the world become one under thee ? He (al Mahdi) replied to him : the mission of the Mahdi is enormous. I have a considerable share in it, and those who are coming after me shall also share it. . . . if it should be the lot of one person only, how could anything from it come to me ? . . .
> Al Mahdi was the key which opened the lock of Divine bounty, mercy, blessing, and happiness. By him God has opened all these to His slaves. And this shall continue after him in his successors, until the promise of God, which He made to them in His bounty, might and power, will be fulfilled.[1]

Khalīfah 'Azīz, son of al Mu'izz, appointed 'Ali ibn Nu'mān as Qāḍī after the death of al Ṭāhir. Sayyidnā Idrīs has this to say of the result.

> When 'Ali took over charge, religion was duly served, justice became wide spread in all quarters and injustice disappeared totally. People no longer followed *ray* (option) or *qiyas* (deduction), but they adhered to the injunctions of the Imam and the practice of the progeny of the Prophet, the Imams of his House, as related by the most trustworthy authorities.[2]

Religious Duties

> Know that the outer and the inner meaning of the law have seven pillars, purity, prayers, alms, fasting, pilgrimage, endeavour (Holy War), and belief in the nearness of God, (al walayat).[3]

Thus begins an explanation of the pillars of the Ismā'īlī faith as given in *Majmu' al tarbiyat* of Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir. The two duties which differentiate this list from that of the Sunni Muslims, are purification, *ṭahārat*, and friendship for the people of the house of Muḥammad. Only *ṭahārat* was not included in our list of duties for the *Ithnā 'Asharīya*. Each of the seven has not only its apparent meaning, but also its allegorical meaning.

Love for 'Ali

Love for 'Ali, or *al walāya*,—" love for him and his cause is the greatest religious virtue in Islam."[4] Any person who faithfully

[1] Ivanow, The Rise of the Fatimids, pp. 102/103.
[2] Fyzee, A. A. A., Qadi al Numan, JRAS, 1934, p. 11.
[3] Tritton, A. S., Notes on some Ismaili Mss., BSOS, VII, p. 36.
[4] Ivanow, Creed of the Fatimids, para. 69.

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performs this duty is in the ark of Noah that gives religious salvation. He knows that his is the one sect of seventy-three which will be saved. In Qāḍī Nu'mān's *Kitāb Sharh al Akhbār* there are sixteen parts. One is given to Muḥammad, nine to 'Ali, two to Khadījah, Fāṭima, Ḥasan and Ḥusain, and four to the Imams![1]

Prayer

Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir brings this topic of prayer first. Prayer is of two kinds: (1) prescribed prayers, with their external forms, which may have mystical interpretations, as for example, the sunset prayer is like 'Ali the deputy;[2] (2) spiritual prayers, which are in no way related to form but may be performed

> by the force of continuous meditation, or by the power of concentration, . . . by persistent effort to preserve spiritual purity, by keeping away from temptations of one's lower self, abandonment of lust, and exercise of self control in the most difficult and unpleasant situations of life, or fatiguing forms of worship, When one masters all this, he has really attained the desired attachment to God.[3]

Purification

In Sunni Islam this is included in injunctions connected with *namāz*. In Ismailism it is treated as a distinct duty, and has its own *ta'wīl*. While ritual purification may be obtained by water or sand, internal or spiritual purity of the heart, is through "knowledge of the real meaning of things as these are explained by religious teachers." Spiritual water can be polluted by errors of the mind produced by *ijtihād*, *qiyās* and *ra'i*.[4]

Alms

The inner meaning of this duty is that wealth in its entirety is knowledge.[5] The religious tax, *zakāt*, is incumbent on all who have the means. Money is like blood. If there is too much it works harm. It is therefore necessary for the individual to contribute a share for the benefit of the community. The *zakāt* would seem to be payable to the Imam. Accounts of the early Ismā'īlī period relate how dais did not know to whom to pay the *zakāt*

[1] Tritton, *op. cit.*, p. 24.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 36.
[3] Ivanow, Creed of the Fatimids, para. 76.
[4] *Ibid.*, paras. 74/75.
[5] Tritton, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

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when the Imam was so successfully concealed that they were completely out of touch with him. In *Sīrat Ja'far* we read how "great quantities of goods and large sums of money"[1] were brought to the Imam in Salamīya by dais who were living in different towns.

Fast

The "Fatimid Creed" enjoins fasting because of its many spiritual advantages and its help in suppressing sensuality. Its inner meaning is said to be available through special books. The time for commencing the fast of Ramaḍān is dependent on the appearance of the moon as detected by astronomers, and on observation only when the astronomical time cannot be known. This scientific method came to be used very early and was commanded to be observed in Egypt by Jauhar as soon as he occupied the country.

> There is also a fast in the spiritual sense which consists in the religious duty of not communicating or teaching any religious matters, on the part of those who do not possess the necessary qualifications, and are not licensed to do this.[2]

Pilgrimage

The pilgrimage to Mecca is obligatory on all who can finance it. The creed makes no reference to other pilgrimage places. But there are numerous references of pilgrimage to the Imam; and occasional instances of pilgrimage by an early Imam to one or other of the tombs of his ancestors, as when Imam al Ḥusain ibn Aḥmad went to Kufa and Kerbala.[3] There appears to be no instance of any tomb of an Imam in the Ismā'īlī line through the Fatimid period having become a shrine of pilgrimage.

Religious War

War or *jihād* "is obligatory against the people who turn away from religion."[4] But this duty is to be discharged under the guidance of the right leader. A *mu'min* who loses his life in such a war "acquires special nearness to God." A second type of religious war "is the struggle against one's own vices and sensuality

[1] Sirat Jafar, Tr. Ivanow in Rise of the Fatimids, p. 185.
[2] Ivanow, *op. cit.*, paras. 78, 50.
[3] Ivanow, The Rise of the Fatimids, p. 37.
[4] Ivanow, A Creed of the Fatimids, para. 80.

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which make him deviate from the right path prescribed by religion."

Taqīya

During the period of the Fatimid dynasty the necessity of dissimulation was much reduced, and for many it was entirely removed. But *taqīya* as an accepted duty for an individual for whom concealment of his religion has become desirable has never been repudiated by Ismailism and during the pre-Fatimid period the Imams themselves lived in constant dissimulation.

The Ismā'īlī Hierarchy

Most of the older accounts of Ismailism included a description of several grades of initiation not unlike the degrees in free masonry, which started among new converts with the simplest of teaching, and followed step by step through five, seven or nine grades to one where initiates were practical atheists. Ismā'īlī literature that has become available in recent years suggests that these grades were a misunderstanding on the part of non-Ismā'īlī writers, and that there was nothing like grades of initiation for the whole community. There was, however, a well organized hierarchy of religious teachers, known as *ḥudūd al dīn*, which was correlated with cosmic entities in the religious sphere.

It will serve no useful purpose to dwell upon the correlation. But the order of standing within the hierarchy does have interest. As nearly as we can reconstruct it, it would seem to be as follows :

1. Prophet
2. Asās
3. Imam
4. Bāb
5. Ḥujjat
6. Dā'ī al madhūn
7. Dā'ī al mukāsir
8. Dā'ī al mustajib

We also read of dais called *balāgh*, *muṭlaq* and *maḥṣur*, but information available does not enable us to say what their relation would be to dais listed above as six to eight inclusive. It was possible for a *dā'ī* to work up from the lowest rung to the position of *Bāb*. Al Muaiyad did this, as did also Ja'far, the son of Haushab. But many dais of great ability did not rise out of the lower grades. One such was Bīr Ishāq, author of the original version of *Kalami Pir*, or *Haft Bāb*, who "was a modest *madhūn*" who had been promoted by Khwāja Qāsim, a *ḥujjat* " somewhere

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in Persia."[1] The name *Tā'līmīya* which was early given to the Ismailis was doubtless given in tribute to the care with which provision for teaching members of the *da'wat* was made.

The key in the hierarchy is the *dā'ī*, a word which means " one who calls." The term is met with very early in the development of Ismailism, and apparently at the early stages dais were directly related to the Imam, if we can judge from accounts in the *Istitār al Imam* and *Sīrat Ja'far*. The *hijāb*, or veil, whom we found in the period of *satr* when Imams were concealed, naturally disappeared as the *da'wat* grew in success and power, when the organization also further developed. In the *dā'ī* we find the counterpart of the priest in the Christian Church who, as

> accredited agent of the Imam, *is ordained*. In addition to the position of ordinary Islamic *mulla*, he has spiritual authority, commission, received either directly from the source of the religious authority, the Imam, or indirectly, through those who themselves received it from him, together with the right of transferring it to others. The sacrament which he is commissioned to perform is not only teaching, i.e. distributing the sacred wisdom of the Imams, but also accepting, on their behalf, the oath of allegiance of the followers.
>
> This is quite different from the state of things in Sunnism. . . . this one has a complete parallel in the Sufic history of the ' chains ' of permissions, by which accredited spiritual teachers, *murshids*, receive their authority ultimately from the Prophet himself, through a long succession of similar commissioned, priests. Just as the Sufic *murshid* without a genuine *ijāza khirqa*, or other certificate of his commission, is an impostor, however pious and learned he may really be, so the *dā'i* is a *dā'i* only in so far as he is commissioned by the Imam, in whose name he accepts the oath of allegiance from his converts.[2]

Not only were dais ordained but they were paid fixed salaries, and given sanctioned allowances for the work of the *da'wat* under them. They were admonished to refrain from using religious funds in their hands for their personal use, and also to keep their work expenses within the sum that had been sanctioned, and not to " bother the Imam " with requests for approving other trivial items.

While a few dais, like Ibn Haushab Mansur al Yaman, Abū 'Abdullāh al Shī'ī of Tunis and Hamdān Qarmat of Iraq, were

[1] Ivanow, Kalami Pir, lxv.
[2] Ivanow, W., The Organization of the Fatimid Propaganda, JBBRAS, XXV, pp. 6, 7.

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such pronounced leaders as to be outstanding, their ability included the gift of selecting and training subordinates, for their success could not have been obtained without the help of many others. Selection was no less important than training, and selection commenced early, for we read of mu'mins who have not yet entered the "grades" that "no *mu'min* deserves the name *mu'min* unless he prepares and educates another *mu'min* like himself."[1] The studies of a *dā'ī* were planned to be so thorough that he would not be embarrassed by any question any pupil might ask.

> The *ẓāhir* subjects are : *fiqh*, or jurisprudence ; *ḥadīth*, *akhbār*, *riwāyāt*, *isnāds*, i.e. all branches of tradition ; the Coran, its *tafsīr*, or philological interpretation, and *ta'wīl*, or allegorical meaning ; theory of preaching, arguing, religious stories ; and the art of controversy and dialectics.—He must be acquainted with the teachings of different sects, heretics, zindiqs, dahrites, etc. His equipment with regard to the *bāṭin* subjects must include the knowledge of everything that pertains to the physical world, i.e. cosmogony, physics, branches of natural history, etc. And also disciplines dealing with abstract matters, such as philosophy, logic, etc. To this must be added profound learning in *ta'wīl* matters,—parallelism of the universe with human organism,—philosophy of emanations, and generally spiritual subjects, or religious philosophy.
>
> He must also know the biographies of the Imams, and have some idea about the activities of the former (famous) *dā'īs*. Generally speaking, he must be encyclopædically educated, so that not to be lost at any question. He must be able to write well, and to be able to operate correctly with abstractions. At the same time, he must have good knowledge of things belonging to secular education, *adab*, because only theological learning, not accompanied by *adab*, deprives the man of the necessary polish, *rawnaq*, which evokes admiration, and attracts people.
>
> The *dā'ī* generally must be a man of high intellectual culture, capable of handling the subjects connected with spiritual life and experience. He must be a man fond of learning and learned conversation. He must associate himself with the people who can carry it on. He must patronise learning and students, always showing respect and courtesy to the learned, *ahlu'l-'ilm*, even if they are poor, and shabbily dressed.[2]

Nor is this all. The *dā'ī* is required to be devoutly religious, in his personal life, an example to others. His moral and religious

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 27.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 20/21.

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virtues are to be of a very high order ; he must possess organizing and administrative ability ; he must be deeply sincere and completely given to his task, completely honest in the use of the Imam's money and gladly obedient to the Imam. He " must make learning, high morals and good manners a family tradition," while his servants " must be initiated members of the religion (*mu'min*), modest men, devoted to the work of religion and their community."[1]

As an aid to the preparation of a *dā'ī* books in dialogue form were prepared representing a *dā'ī* in conversation with a disciple. One of the earliest of such texts was *Kitāb al 'Alim wa'l ghulām* by Ja'far ibn Manṣur al Yaman.[2] Abū Ḥātim al Razi's little book, *Kitāb al Zīna* may well have been a manual in the *ẓāhir* for dais.[3]

As we have reviewed briefly the Imams of the Fatimid line, it is but natural that the impression sometimes was of a political rather than a religious organization. But the *da'wat*, if sometimes unnoticed, was always present, and frequently it contributed greatly to the strength of the dynasty. While the Imam was always the final authority, the day-to-day running of the *da'wat* was entrusted to the *Bāb*. The hall of assembly was the centre for a teaching programme on the principles of Ismailism.[4] Weekly meetings were held and addressed by the *Bāb* or the *Ḥujjat*, or other official. Both men and women were present and they were dressed in white, women being seated in their own section of the hall. Before giving his teaching of the day, the *Bāb* or *Ḥujjat* had to read his lecture before the Imam, who signed his name on the back of the paper. After the lecture the disciples and learners would kiss the hand of the lecturer and then reverently touch the signature of the Imam to their foreheads. From this centre, missionary activity radiated to distant places, each missionary or *dā'ī* being enthusiastic both for his religion and for the State. And, as if in response, Cairo became the centre for numerous pilgrims, mostly from Persia and the Yaman, but also from other countries. Something of the distant reach of the radiating propaganda may be gathered from the names of the districts, or islands, into which the *da'wat* was divided. These numbered twelve, or twenty-four, but the names of all are not known. Ivanow, " using historical information about the distribution of

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 34.
[2] Kraus, Paul, Le Bibliographie Ismaelienne de W. Ivanow, REI, 1932, p. 486.
[3] Ivanow, *op. cit.*, p. 21, n. 1.
[4] Zakir Husain, Ar raudatu'l bahiyya fi Tarikhi Salatin Fatimiya. p. 123.

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the Ismailis," suggests names of nine districts, for he has never found the names of all : Yaman, " the only *jazīra* which is always mentioned," Khorasan, Mawaraannahr, Badakhshan, Rai (with Isfahan), Kirman, Khuzistan, Iraq, Sind.[1]

During the course of our account reference has been made to Al Azhar University, but not to the libraries and observatories which, together with schools, were a significant contribution of Ismailism toward progress in learning. These institutions were free to all and people in classes received writing materials free. Public gatherings were regularly held where learned men wore robes which are thought to be forerunners of modern academic gowns. The cost of these institutions was borne by the government, and the most qualified teachers were brought from as far as Spain or Asia for the sciences.

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 10, n. 3.

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CHAPTER XVI

The Mustalian Ismailis Come to India

In the account of the Fatimids we have brought the story of the Imams of the Mustalian Ismailis to the time of the concealment of the child Abū al Qāsim Ṭaiyib. For this branch of the Ismailis there has been no revealed Imam since that time, 524/1130. But there has always been an Imam, the same al Ṭaiyib while he lived, and his descendants generation to generation ever since then. Even to-day a descendant still lives, though he is concealed. To a few who for reasons of preaching, or for other cause, have needed to be in contact with him, he has been available.

The Bohra community in India is a branch of the Mustalian Ismailis. They recognize the following Imams: Ḥasan through Ja'far al Ṣādiq, five; Ismā'īl through Ḥusain *al mastūr*, five; and 'Ubaidallāh al Mahdī through Al Ṭaiyib, eleven; a total of twenty-one Imams. 'Ali is not included as an Imam, for he has ben advanced to the position of *Asās*.

At the death of al Amir, the last revealed Imam, and successor to Musta'lī in the Fatimid dynasty, control and direction of the religious da'wat passed to Queen Hurra in the Yaman. She seems to have held the rank of *Ḥujjat*, of whom there were twelve or twenty-four at that time, but she had earlier been given the charge of the *da'wat* in India by al Mustanṣir, and al Amir gave his tacit if not specific approval of her assuming the leadership by announcing through her that it would be continued in the name of his son al Ṭaiyib. Her position in the State, as well as her experience, made her the recognized leader whom all followed. She was expremely capable and well trained in all matters touching her new responsibility. She was ably assisted by al Khaṭṭāb ibn al Ḥasan al Ḥamdāni and also by the dais, Lamak ibn Mālik and Yahya ibn Mālik. When she received word of al Amir's death, she and all the Musta'lī dais took the oath of allegiance to al Ṭaiyib. That practice continues to this day. She lived to be over ninety-two years of age, dying in 532/1138.[1] Her tomb in the Yaman is still a shrine for pilgrimage.

[1] Zakir Husain, *op. cit.*, pp. 135/136.

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Before her death Hurra al Malika appointed Dhuaib ibn Musa as her successor to be in charge of the whole *da'wat*. He was the first *Dā'ī al muṭlaq*, or *dā'ī* in absolute charge. The person holding this office is the personal representative of the concealed Imam, and to the time of the nineteenth *dā'ī* was believed to be in secret correspondence with the Imam. The principle of *naṣṣ* applies for the *Dā'ī al muṭlaq* as it did with the Imam, and the designation is required to be publicly announced. This done, the appointee works under the supervision of the Imam, and is entitled to the absolute obedience of every follower, an obligation the latter assumes in his oath of allegiance. This demand for loyalty is based on a passage in the Quran (Sura XI : 3) : " God purchased from all the faithful their souls and their property in consideration of Paradise."

> This is so thoroughly impressed on the minds of the bigoted religionists that no Borah can dare criticise any action taken, right or wrong, by the Da'i or his assistant or 'Amil.[1]

The list of the dais recognized during the Yamanite period of the *da'wat* as compiled by Mr. Fyzee from the *Ṣaḥīfat al Ṣalāt* used by the communities in India, with the dates of their deaths, is as follows :[2]

1.	Dhu'aib ibn Musa	.. 546/1151
2.	Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥusain	.. 557/1162
3.	Ḥātim ibn Ibrāhīm	.. 596/1199
4.	'Ali ibn Ḥātim ..	.. 605/1209
5.	'Ali ibn Muḥammad	.. 612/1215
6.	'Ali ibn Ḥanẓala ..	.. 626/1229
7.	Aḥmad ibn al Mubārak	.. 627/1230
8.	Ḥusain ibn 'Ali ..	.. 667/1268
9.	'Ali ibn Ḥusain ibn 'Ali	.. 682/1284
10.	'Ali ibn Ḥusain ..	.. 686/1287
11.	Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥusain	.. 728/1328
12.	Muḥammad ibn Ḥātim	.. 729/1329
13.	'Ali ibn Ibrāhīm ..	.. 746/1345
14.	'Abdul Muṭṭālib ..	.. 755/1354
15.	'Abbās ibn Muḥammad	.. 779/1378
16.	'Abdullāh ibn 'Ali	.. 809/1407
17.	Ḥasan ibn 'Abdillāh	.. 821/1418
18.	'Ali ibn 'Abdillāh	.. 832/1428
19.	Idrīs ibn Ḥasan ..	.. 872/1468
20.	Ḥasan ibn Idrīs ..	.. 918/1512
21.	Ḥusain ibn Idrīs ..	.. 933/1527

[1] Abdul Husein, Gulzare Daudi, p. 119.
[2] Fyzee, A. A. A., A Chronological List of the Imams and Dais of the Mustalian Ismailis, JBBRAS, 1934, X, pp. 11/12.

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22. 'Ali ibn Ḥusain 933/1527
23. Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan .. 946/1539
24. Yusuf ibn Sulaimān .. 974/1567
25. Jalāl ibn Ḥasan 975/1567
26. Dā'ūd ibn 'Ajab 999/1591

Propaganda under the Fatimid *da'wat* in India is traced back to the time of al Mustanṣir. Ismā'īlī dais had indeed been sent to India at a much earlier date. Their field of labour was in Sind, in the district of Multan. Their chief *dā'ī* was in correspondence with al Mu'izz, and the community had not only increased in numbers, but it had attained to ruling power in Multan during his Imamate. The community recognized the Fatimid rulers as its Imams, but the initiative in Sind may have been taken by the Qarmatians. The later history links Multan and Sind with the Nizarian *da'wat*, which we shall consider in a later chapter. Here we follow the Mustalian connection in India which is represented to-day by the Bohra community.

The First Missionary

The full details of the earliest history are still somewhat obscure. The *Mirāt i Aḥmadī* gives the name of the first missionary as Mullā Muḥammad 'Ali; and says that it is his tomb which is in Cambay.[1] At the time the author was writing, this tomb, known as the shrine of the *Pīr i Rawān*, or the Ever-Alive saint, drew large numbers of Bohras from Gujarat. Another writer says that the "first official preacher or missionary"[2] was Mullā Aḥmad who came in 460/1067 and that he was accompanied by Mullā 'Abdullāh and Nūr al dīn. This last-named is said to have worked in the Deccan and to be buried near Aurungabad.[3] Yet another name, that of Ya'qūb is also found.[4] The prayer book of the Daudi Bohras has a record that the first Bohra missionary died in 532/1139. This date is much too late. The more general account is that the first missionary arrived from the Yaman in 460/1067 and that his name was 'Abdullāh. This date is probably not far wrong. In the collection of letters of al Mustanṣir and his family to which we have already referred,[4] the *da'wat* in India

1 Enthoven, R. E., The Tribes and Castes of Bombay, p. 199, n. 2.
2 Abu Zafir Nadir, The Origin of the Bohras, Is. Cul., VIII, p. 639.
3 Abdul Husein, *op. cit.*, p. 113.
4 Hamdani, H. F., The Letters of Mustansir billah, BSOS, 1933/1935, pp. 308/312.

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is mentioned. In a letter dated A.H. 468 al Mustanṣir wrote to Mukarram and referred to the death of a *dā'ī* in India, and " pronounced mercy on the deceased." In another letter dated A.H. 476 he gave his approval to the appointment of Aḥmad ibn Marzuban in place of a *dā'ī* who had died in India, and to Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'īl who had been a *dā'ī* in Oman as Aḥmad's helper.

Although the names of the missionaries differ, the accounts of the manner in which they opened their work do not greatly differ. 'Abdullāh landed in India at a place near Cambay and worked in Gujarat when the country was ruled by a Rajput named Sidhraj Jai Singh.[1] This ruler was a devoted worshipper of idols and so strongly did he feel against Muslims that any who were found in his kingdom were immediately put to death. It was necessary, therefore, for 'Abdullāh to move carefully, and for this his training fitted him. He had learned some Hindi in Yaman. At first he lived apart, in fields or woods ; then one day he approached a man and a woman who were working in the fields, and asked them for water to drink. They replied that the well nearby was dry and that they had no water. He insisted that he wanted to see the well, to which the villagers queried in reply, " There's the well, but what will you do ? Can you make it have water ? " " No," said 'Abdullāh, " but Allāh can do everything. If he helps you by making water return in the well, will you become Muslims with me ? " They agreed to do so. 'Abdullāh went down into the well, inserted in it a reed which he had, and sure enough, water commenced to flow in and the well could again be used. With this miracle before them these villagers, known as *Kaka akela* and *Kaki akeli*, received 'Abdullāh into their house. There he perfected his knowledge of their dialect and taught them of his religion.

But 'Abdullāh's presence was not made known. Some time later he revealed to them that his mission was to win people to Islam. They said the best way to do that was to first win the ruler, then he could win the people. They then said the way to win the king was to win the *wazīr* first, and that he could best be reached through the priest of the temple where he regularly worshipped. Undaunted by such a programme, 'Abdullāh set out to meet the priest. He found him teaching the alphabet to some children. Starting a conversation on his method of teaching, he built a friendship and soon made of the priest a disciple. In

[1] Najm al Ghani Khan, Madh hib al Islam, pp. 270 ff. ; Jhaveri, *op. cit.*, JBBRAS, 1933, IX, pp. 37/52.

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repeated visits he taught him, and then asked him for his help in getting the *wazīr*, who was named Bharmal. Not until Bharmal was part persuaded that there was something in the new teaching did he meet 'Abdullāh and then they were introduced and soon after Bharmal took the oath of allegiance. Then he, too, learned secretly and slowly of Islam, and of the Imams of the family of Muḥammad. Sometime later the wazir's servant sensed a change in his master and reported to the king that Bharmal had become a Muslim. Unwilling to believe unless he had seen him at *namāz* the servant brought the king to Bharmal's house on such an occasion, just as Bharmal was rising from his knees. Asked for an explanation, the tried *wazīr* was ready. Why, this that he had been doing was nothing, he had been looking for a snake! He had seen it go toward the box in that corner and had been looking now in this position, now in that, and he had just been looking below the box when the king, Sidhraj, came in and saw him. To test his answer the king had the box removed, and lo, there really was a snake. Bharmal was restored in confidence and the tattling servant was punished.

The king was first influenced by a gradual change which he noticed in the position of an iron elephant that he worshipped in the temple. This was suspended in a court and held in position by magnetic stones placed at four points. 'Abdullah had studied the situation and then removed one of these, and one foot dropped to the ground. On another day a second was changed, and so on until it stood with four feet on the ground. 'Abdullāh had told the priest to tell the king that the elephant had asked to be on the ground. Later word reached the king that the priest had been converted by an Arab. Soldiers were sent to arrest him, but although they could see him on the steps of the temple they could not reach him. Then the king himself went with troops. When they got quite close fire flashed and their feet became heavy. They got normal only when the Raja had said that he would learn about Islam. A crowning miracle came after the king had promised that he would accept Islam if it could be done. At 'Abdullāh's command a large idol arose, took the dai's bucket, and brought it full of water from the village tank. The removal of the water left the tank dry; fishes flopped on dry ground and cattle were unable to drink. The villagers became alarmed and pleaded with 'Abdullāh not to leave them that way. Then the idol put the water back. Not only the king, but so many people became Muslims in Cambay, Patan and Sidhpur that the weight of the

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sacred threads which the Brahmins discarded was over eighty pounds![1] And so the sect grew more and more rapidly.

Non-sectarian records in some degree corroborate the claims of the Bohra community indicating that though Sidhraj apparently died as a Hindu he asked for burial instead of cremation, and that both his successors and his "great Jain teacher, Hemacharya, at a time when there are no recorded Musalman invasions, are said to have been converted to Islam."[2] The tombs of 'Abdullāh and Aḥmad, and also those of the farmer and his wife, who were the first converts, are said to be at Cambay.[3]

As the community grew, careful attention was given to the teaching of religious doctrines, and especially to the preparation of other dais. This was under the close supervision of the head *dā'ī* in Yaman. 'Abdullāh had prepared Ya'qūb the son of Bharmal to be his successor. Ya'qūb sent his cousin Fakhr al dīn to Egypt for training under Al Mustanṣir,[4] and on his return he appointed him to Bagar in Western Rajputana. There he was murdered by the Bhils. He was buried in Galiakot. The incident was forgotten until the time of the thirty-seventh *Dā'ī al muṭlaq*, who realized its historical importance, and it has since become one of the revered shrines of the Bohras.[5] The succession of early dais up to 1537 is given as below.[6] But considering all circumstances, the list appears to be incomplete and may include only a few of the important ones.

1. 'Abdullāh.
2. Ya'qūb, son of Bharmal.
3. Ishāq, son of Ya'qūb.
4. 'Ali, son of Ishāq. He lived in Patan, and taught three other dais whom he appointed as follows :
   - Mullā Adam at Ahmadabad.
   - Pīr Ḥasan at Sidhpur.
   - Dā'ūd, his own son, lived with the father in Patan.
5. Pīr Ḥasan, who was killed.
6. Mullā Adam.
7. Mullā Ḥasan, son of Mullā Adam.
8. Mullā Raj, son of Mullā Ḥasan.
9. Mullā Ja'far, son of Mullā Rāj.

The first split in the Bohra community belongs to a period

[1] Najm al Ghani Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 277 ; Jhaveri, *op. cit.*, p. 41.
[2] Faridi, Bombay Gaz., IX, pt. 2, p. 26 ; Jhaveri, *op. cit.*, p. 47.
[3] Abdul Husein, *op. cit.*, p. 113 ; Jhaveri, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
[4] Zakir Husain, *op. cit.*, pp. 130/131.
[5] Abdul Husein, *op. cit.*, p. 113.
[6] Zakir Husain, *op. cit.*, p. 131 ; Najm al Ghani Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 277.

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when one named Dā'ūd served as Mullā,[1] probably between the fourth and fifth listed above. Idrīs Imam al dīn ibn Ḥasan was then *dā'ī*, the nineteenth, in Yaman. Mullā Dā'ūd was living in Ahmadabad, and Ja'far, a subordinate, resided in Patan, which was apparently under Mullā Dā'ūd. Without the permission of his superior, in fact in spite of his disapproval, Ja'far went to Yaman to study. Mullā Dā'ūd wrote to the *dā'ī* in Yaman to inform him of the situation, but he did not stop Ja'far from continuing his course. Dā'ūd, however, did not give Ja'far an appointment when he returned to India. This was very grievous to Ja'far, who went to Broach and one day led the community in prayers without the permission of the local *'amil*. When this was reported to Mullā Dā'ūd, he desired that Ja'far should write to those whom he had led in prayer to inform them that their prayers at that time had no value, because he had not been authorized to lead them. This Ja'far would not do. Instead he declared himself a Sunni and urged others to become Sunnis also. As Ja'far had the support of the ruler, a large number followed him. "About eighty per cent of the Ismailis separated at this time" writes 'Abdul Ḥusain, while Najm al Ghani Khan says that twelve lakhs (one million two hundred thousand) became Sunnis.[2] That figure, even if we consider it very exaggerated, does suggest how large were the numbers that had been converted.

The intimate association of the Mustalian Ismailis in the Yaman and the 'Bohras' in India is indicated by the fact that promising young men from India were sent to complete their training in the Yaman, and three of these rose to the position of *Dā'ī al muṭlaq* in the Yaman (Nos. 24, 25 and 26);[3] while seven all told have attained the same office among the Sulaimanī dais (Nos. 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29 and 48).[4]

The *Da'wat* in India

The residence of the *Dā'ī al muṭlaq* continued to be in the Yaman until the time of Yūsuf ibn Sulaimān. There pilgrimage had to be made by those who wished to see him; there collections intended for him had always been sent; and there also, disputes from India had been referred for settlement. But Yūsuf ibn

[1] Najm al Ghani Khan, *op. cit.*, pp. 316/317.
[2] Ibid., p. 317.
[3] See lists of dais in this chapter.
[4] Fyzee, A. A. A., Three Sulaiman Dais, JBBRAS, XVI, p. 101.

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Sulaimān changed his residence from the Yaman to India, settling at Sidhpur. The date usually given for this transfer is 946/1539,[1] the date given to the High Court in Bombay in 1866. The forty-seventh *dā'ī*, 'Abd al Qādir Najm al dīn, in a letter to the Governor of Bombay, gave the date of coming to India as 974/1567.[2] These dates represent the first and last years of Yūsuf ibn Sulaimān's office as *dā'ī*, and seem to confirm the change as during his period of office.

Mullā Ja'far promptly acknowledged the authority of Yūsuf ibn Sulaimān on his arrival and put in his charge the affairs of the *da'wat*. One of the later Daudi dais, 'Abdul Qādir Najm al dīn, the forty-seventh, describes the transfer as "an ecclesiastical visit among our tribe in Hindustan as also to obtain proselytes to our faith."[3] Bohra accounts give as a reason for this change the greater zeal among Indian converts, but the changing political situation probably had something to do with it, for the Turks took Aden in 1537 and were gradually extending their authority in the peninsula.[4] One expression of the greater zeal of the Indian Bohras may also have been a larger income received by the *dā'ī* from India. It is noteworthy that the transfer was effected by the first of India's sons to hold this highest office. Other outstanding leaders in the community who might rise to the office were also Indians. It is quite possible that this situation was causing tensions which, with other reasons, decided Yūsuf ibn Sulaimān to make the transfer. For some years the *da'wat* in the Yaman was placed in charge of a *dā'ī*, who acting as a deputy of the leader of the whole community lived in India.

The name *bohra*, written also *bohora*, is thought to be derived from the Gujarati word *vohoru*, to trade, since the first converts were traders. This explanation does not cover the case of the "Sunni Bohras" who are cultivators, unless they accepted Sunni Islam after they had been converted as Ismailis. Neither Daudi nor Sunni Bohras have any tradition that the latter ever belonged to the former group.[5]

For the most part the Mustalian community in India, called also Bohras, or Taiyibis after the twenty-first Imam, was composed of converts from Hinduism. Some, however, claim to be descendants of refugees from the Yaman, Arabia, and also Egypt.

[1] BLR, XXIV, p. 1070, 1923; Arnold, T. W., Bohoras, EI.
[2] Abdul Husein, *op. cit.*, App. J., pp. 216/221.
[3] Abdul Husein, *op. cit.*, p. 210.
[4] Faridi, *op. cit.*, p. 27, n. 2.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 24/25.

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This may well be, for when the Fatimid dynasty was finally destroyed by Salah al dīn, the Shī'a and particularly the Ismailis, were persecuted and expelled from the country. While the Yaman afforded the most cordial asylum to Mustalians, it is highly probable that many came to India's hospitable shores. Two other periods might account for emigration to India, namely, the rise to power of the Nizaris in Persia, and the transfer of the residence of the *Dā'ī al muṭlaq* to India.

Sulaimani Bohras

This change in residence had not been long effected when another cleavage split the community.[1] Both sections remained as Mustalian Ismailis, but accepted different dais. Dā'ūd ibn 'Ajab Shāh, the twenty-sixth *Dā'ī al muṭlaq* had been represented in the Yaman by one Sulaimān ibn Ḥasan, who was his wife's nephew. Following the death of Dā'ūd ibn 'Ajab Shāh in 999/1589, Dā'ūd Burhān al dīn succeeded him, and word to this effect was sent to the Yaman. There Sulaimān claimed that he had been designated to the office of *Dā'ī al muṭlaq* by Dā'ūd ibn 'Ajab Shāh and supported his claim with a document that bore the seal of office of the deceased *Dā'ī*. The Daudis—for each faction had now become known by the name of its candidate—insist that Sulaimān continued to represent Dā'ūd ibn 'Ajab Shāh as his deputy for four years before making this claim, and declare that the paper he had was a forgery. The Daudis give this explanation of the sealed document : Ibrāhīm, a son of Dā'ūd ibn 'Ajab Shāh, the *Dā'ī*'s clerk named Muḥammad and the *Dā'īs* widow had been implicated in the loss of money from the treasury. Fearing that they would be called to account, and demand made for repayment, they wrote to Sulaimān suggesting that he draw up a statement purporting to be from Dā'ūd ibn 'Ajab Shāh, designating himself as successor, and that he then send it back for having the seal affixed, for the seal was with the clerk. This was done and the sealed paper returned by Muḥammad to Sulaimān by special messenger. When Dā'ūd Burhān al dīn heard of this he deposed Sulaimān, but in al Yaman a great many did not accept this decision, but believing the statement of Sulaimān accepted him as the *Dā'ī al muṭlaq*.

Sulaimān ibn Ḥasan came to India to press his claims here.

[1] Najm al Ghani Khan, *op. cit.*, pp. 312/314.

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Ibrāhīm, the accomplice, represented to Akbar that as son of Dā'ūd ibn 'Ajab Shāh he should have succeeded the father. Dā'ūd Burhān al dīn, the new *Dā'ī* was compelled to undergo many indignities and was even imprisoned. Finally, Akbar assigned Ḥākim 'Ali to study the case. He came to the conclusion that Dā'ūd Burhān was right. Then trouble fell upon Ibrāhīm and Sulaimān, and they escaped with difficulty only when they had bribed for their freedom. Only a relatively small number of Indian Bohras accepted the claims of Sulaimān, but these few represent a progressive group from which several have risen to high position. The *Dā'ī muṭlaq* of the Sulaimanis lives in the Yaman. Sulaimān ibn Ḥasan died in India and is buried in Ahmadabad. The Sulaimanis are found mostly in the cities of Bombay, Baroda and Hyderabad Deccan. Their Dais, *resident in the Yaman*, are listed below, the dates of their deaths being given.[1]

27.	Sulaimān ibn Ḥasan ..	1005/1597
28.	Ja'far ibn Sulaimān ..	1050/1640
29.	'Ali ibn Sulaimān	1088/1677
30.	Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ..	1094/1683
31.	Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl ..	1109/1697
32.	Hibat ullāh ibn Ibrāhīm ..	1160/1747
33.	Ismā'īl ibn Hibat ullāh ..	1184/1770
34.	Ḥasan ibn Hibat ullāh ..	1189/1775
35.	'Abdul 'Ali	1195/1781
36.	'Abdullāh ibn 'Ali	1225/1810
37.	Yūsuf ibn 'Ali	1234/1819
38.	Ḥusain ibn Ḥusain	1241/1826
39.	Ismā'īl ibn Muḥammad ..	1256/1840
40.	Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ..	1262/1846
41.	Ḥasan ibn Ismā'īl	1289/1872
42.	Aḥmad ibn Ismā'īl	1306/1889
43.	'Abdullāh ibn 'Ali	1323/1905
44.	'Ali ibn Hibatullāh ..	1331/1913
45.	'Ali ibn Muḥsin	1355/1936
46.	Ghulām Ḥusain	1357/1938
47.	Ḥusain ibn Aḥmad ..	1358/1939
48.	'Ali ibn Ḥusain	

The Sulaimani Dais continue the old Yamanite tradition. Both branches use the title Sayyidnā for their Dais, but the Daudis add honourific titles to the names of the Dais. The present *Da'ī al muṭlaq* of the Daudi Bohras is known as His Holiness Sardar

[1] Fyzee, *op. cit.*, pp. 13, 14; JBBRAS, 1934, Vol. X. Also JBBRAS, XVI, pp. 102/104.

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Sayyidnā Ṭāhir Saif al dīn ; while the Sulaimani *Dā'ī* is more simply Sayyidnā 'Ali (ibn Ḥusain). The Daudi list of Dais follows :[1]

27.	Dā'ūd Burhān al dīn ..	.. 1021 /1612
28.	Shaikh Adam Saif al dīn	.. 1030 /1621
29.	'Adb al Ṭaiyib Zakī al dīn	.. 1041 /1631
30.	'Ali Shams al dīn ..	.. 1042 /1632
31.	Qāsim Zain al dīn ..	.. 1054 /1644
32.	Quṭb Khān Quṭb al dīn ..	.. 1056 /1646
33.	Pir Khān Shuja' al dīn ..	.. 1065 /1655
34.	Ismā'īl Badr al dīn ..	.. 1085 /1674
35.	'Abd al Ṭaiyib Zakī al dīn	.. 1110 /1699
36.	Mūsā Kalim al dīn ..	.. 1122 /1710
37.	Nūr Muhammad Nūr al dīn	.. 1130 /1718
38.	Ismā'īl Badr al dīn ..	.. 1150 /1737
39.	Ibrāhīm Wajīh al dīn ..	.. 1168 /1754
40.	Hibatullāh al Muaiyad fī dīn	.. 1193 /1779
41.	'Abd al Ṭaiyib Zakī al dīn	.. 1200 /1785
43.	Yūsuf Najm al dīn ..	.. 1213 /1798
43.	'Abd 'Ali Saif al dīn ..	.. 1232 /1817
44.	Muḥammad 'Izz al dīn ..	.. 1236 /1821
45.	Ṭaiyib Zain al dīn ..	.. 1252 /1837
46.	Muḥammad Badr al dīn ..	.. 1256 /1840
47.	'Abd al Qādir Najm al dīn	.. 1302 /1885
48.	'Abd al Ḥusain Ḥusām al dīn	.. 1308 /1891
49.	Muḥammad Burhān al dīn	.. 1323 /1906
50.	'Abdullāh Badr al dīn ..	.. 1333 /1915
51.	Ṭāhir Saif al dīn	

For more than three hundred years following 'Abdullah's arrival as a *Dā'ī*, the Mustalians had a quiet opportunity for growth, undisturbed to any serious extent by the Hindu kings of Anhilwada or North Gujarat, and their immediate successors. In fact many of these rulers had treated the Ismā'īlī missionaries with great kindness. From the close of the Tughlaq dynasty for more than a century before the Mughal empire was established, independent Muhammadan kingdoms were established wherever men were strong enough to throw off their allegiance to the weak rulers of Delhi. This happened in Gujarat, Malwa and the Deccan. Muzaffer Shah I, who established himself as the Governor of Gujarat, called many of the Sunni sect, who aided in turning people to that branch of the faith. It was in his reign that the mass movement took place which so greatly depleted the numbers of the Bohra converts. In the cities, particularly, they changed ;

[1] Fyzee, JBBRAS, 1934, X, pp. 14, 15.

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in the country towns and outlying parts people continued as Shias.[1] Those who became Sunnis following Ja'far's lead did not all do so because they thought he was right, but because of political pressure that they could not resist. Of this period we read, " Every mulla, or deputy of the Da'i, had to pretentiously (by taqiya) observe certain Sunni formalities for their self-protection."[2]

" Ja'fari Bohras " were first named from the leader of the mass accessions already referred to. By a coincidence, his name was also borne by another leader under Maḥmud Begada in the early sixteenth century, who is distinguished by the surname Shirāzī. Daudi Bohras and the " Ja'faris " continued to intermarry until 1535 when Ja'far Shirāzī persuaded the Sunnis to keep apart. In a sense he completed the work of the earlier leader. Since his time the two communities have been quite separate. The Jafaris recognize Ja'far Shirāzī as their Pir and his descendants are still their spiritual guides, and for this reason the name is more properly attributed to him.[3] The Jafaris are sometimes called the Patanis because their headquarters are in that city. The community is also called the " Bari Jama'at," as being the larger body.

Another very severe persecution of the Bohras took place in the eleventh /seventeenth century. It is attributed to Aurungzeb. The accounts represent him to have purposed to convert all the Shias in Ahmadabad to Sunnism. Sarkar thus describes Aurungzeb's policy with the Bohras :

> Their spiritual guide Qutb had been put to death by the order of Aurungzeb early in his reign, and the sect was driven into secret ways, in practising its faith. Later many of their leading men were arrested and kept in prison on a charge of heresy. In 1705 Isa and Taj, two silk vendors of the Sulaimani . . . were bound down in security not to collect money from the people by threat and accusation nor to teach heretical opinions. A little later they were sent to court in chains. In the same year the Emperor learned that Khanji, the head of the Ismailia sect and successor to Qutb, had sent twelve emissaries (dais) who were secretly perverting Muslims to this heresy and had collected Rs. 114000 from the members of this creed in Ahmadabad for procuring the release of the brethren then confined by Aurungzeb. The Emperor, on hearing of it ordered the twelve men and certain other members of the community to be arrested quietly without the

[1] Enthoven, *op. cit.*, p. 199.
[2] Abdul Husein, *op. cit.*, p. 34.
[3] Enthoven, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 203/204.

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knowledge of the rest of the sect and sent him under careful guard, with the money collected and the sixty and odd holy books of their faith. This was done. At the same time orthodox teachers were appointed by the State to educate the children and illiterate of the Bohras in every village and city in Sunni doctrines and practices. Their mosques had been converted to Sunni usage earlier in the reign.[1]

Because of long-continued persecution the residence of the Dais was frequently changed. Aggressive efforts to win converts now gave place to an effort to protect and preserve. Residential and cultivating Bohras became Sunnis and " what was left to the Bohra community was the society of trading nomads."[2] In 1785 Sayyidnā Yūsuf Najm al dīn moved to Surat.

If often the Bohras have been persecuted it is also pleasing to note that there have been some Muslim rulers who have befriended the Dais and their followers. In 1006/1597, when Akbar was in Lahore *Dā'ī* Dā'ūd Burhān al dīn also happened to be there. The Emperor received him with all due honour and presented him with a silver palanquin and a valuable *khila't*. During the period that Ujjain was the residence of the Dais, Shah 'Alam I of Delhi conferred on Ismā'īl Badr al dīn the title of " the most illustrious, excellent, honoured and noble Lord " and appointed him Qāḍī of that city, presenting him also with a *khila't*.[3]

Besides the divisions that we have already mentioned, there have been others in the community. In 1034/1624 Sayyidnā Saif al dīn designated 'Abd al Ṭaiyib as his successor in preference to his own sons.[4] One of these, Ibrāhīm, had a son named 'Ali who was an aspirant for the position. 'Ali's father and uncles supported his claims, but 'Ali secured only a few followers even though he carried his protest to Emperor Jahangir. The group is known as the *'Alia Bohras*. They are found only in Baroda. They dress like Sulaimanis and do not inter-marry with the Daudis.[5]

The small group of the *Nagoshis* is an off-shoot of the 'Alias. " Not earlier than 1204/1789," according to one authority,[6] or at " the end of the thirteenth century,"[7] a group of 'Alias began to teach that the Prophet Muḥammad's *daur*, or cycle, had ended,

[1] History of Aurungzeb, V, pp. 433/434.
[2] Abdul Husein, *op. cit.*, p. 45.
[3] *Ibid.*, App. J., pp. 216/21.
[4] Najm al Ghani Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 314.
[5] Faridi, *op. cit.*, p. 33.
[6] Enthoven, *op. cit.*, I, p. 204.
[7] Najm al Ghani Khan, *op. cit.*, 314.

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and it was no longer right to eat meat. Because this and other " peculiar tenets " were not accepted by the majority of the 'Alias, they were excommunicated from the group. As their name suggests, they are vegetarians, " not meat eaters." They inter-marry with the 'Alias, and not with the Daudis. Their number is very small. They are found in Baroda.

The next schism came in the time of the fortieth *Da'ī*, Hibatullāh al Muaiyad, between 1779 and 1785.[1] A certain Lukmanji who was very renowned for his learning and had witnessed the *darbar* of three dais, had also been honoured by al Muaiyad with the title of Shams al 'Ulamā. He had two very able disciples, Ismā'īl ibn 'Abd al Rasūl, and his son Hibatullāh. They both now claimed that they had been in touch with the Imam through his *Dā'ī al Balāgh*, or the chief *Dā'ī*, 'Abdullāh ibn Harith, and that Hibatullāh had been appointed as one of the hujjats of the living Imam, an office above the *Da'ī al muṭlaq*. They carried on their propaganda, first in Ujjain where the Bohras then had their headquarters with the good will of the reigning prince. They were rejected and persecuted by Bohras so that they had to leave the city. Thus they went from place to place. When they returned to Ujjain, Hibatullāh was further disgraced by the cutting off of his nose. In all, he secured only a few followers. They do not mix with, nor marry other Bohras. They are called *Hiptias*.

[1] Abdul Husein, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

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CHAPTER XVII

The Religion of the Bohras

In matters of religion the Bohra community, as a part of the Mustalian Ismailis, is in direct lineal succession to the Fatimids. In large part the doctrines of that period hold for the Bohras in India to-day. When Imam Abū al Qāsim al Ṭaiyib went into concealment near Cairo in 526/1142, and the centre of the Ismā'īlī *da'wat* which the dynasty had fostered was moved to the Yaman the change was more than one of place and leader. The whole *da'wat*, that is the administration of the "spiritual kingdom" of the Mustalians entered into a new period whose purpose seems to have been the maintenance of the *status quo ante*. In the absence of the Imam, original and creative literature could not be undertaken now, outreaching propaganda ceased; and as with any organization that marks time, change and decline set in. In part this showed itself as relapse into practices followed by other Shiite groups as in multiplied pilgrimages and vows; in part as yielding to other cultures that divided the community; in part an inner decadence as the force of the old *da'wat* wore off.

The cosmogony and esoteric interpretations accepted by the Bohras are taken from the literature of the Fatimid period. The best statement that we have of their religious tenets is an abbreviated translation of a Fatimid work which was incorporated in *Tuḥfat al qulūb* by Ḥātim ibn Ibrāhīm, who was the third *dā'ī* in the Yaman. The translation in English is entitled: *Gulzare Daudi for the Bohras of India*. It includes a short note on the Bohras, their twenty-one Imams and fifty-one Dais, with their customs and tenets, and was made by Mian Bhai Mulla Abdul Husein. The purpose of the translation was controversial, for the author was an active member of the reform group that has opposed the head of the community. Other information has become available through litigation in the courts. As a community the Bohras are extremely reticent about sharing their literature with non-Bohras. The large library at Surat is under the care of the *Dā'ī al muṭlaq*. An important part of the knowledge of the religion is known only to him and a very few others. His subordinates

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in the higher ranks may borrow certain books but they cannot lend them to others. Most works are in manuscript, and permission for printing is rarely given. Out of respect to the secrecy in which they hold their oath the Judge of the High Court did not quote from it, but in his judgment commented that " at times it may be the duty of the follower to conceal the truth as to his religion."[1]

The religious organization of the Bohra community is quite complete. The Imam is the highest rank of which they speak, but the *Bāb* and the *Hujjat* are in seclusion with the Imam. Thus he has a staff of twenty-six, twenty-five Hujjats and the *Dā'ī al Balāgh*.[2] It is the belief of the Bohras that their Imam may again be revealed at any time. Many seek to establish direct contact with him ; some claim to have done so. In the absence of these recognized leaders the ranks in the Bohra hierarchy are as follows:[3]

Dā'ī al muṭlaq

The Head of the Bohra community with the title of *Dā'ī al muṭlaq*, is known as Mullājī or Mullā Ṣāḥib, and also has the title of Sayyidnā, which means " our Lord." He is also spoken of as " His Holiness." He is virtually in the place of the Imam. On one occasion when the present *Dā'ī* visited Udaipur in Rajputana, the women called out, " Ali has come ! 'Ali has come ! " This would not be said of anyone less than the Imam. In the case in the High Court about 1920, the *Dā'ī* submitted a pamphlet printed some thirty years earlier by one of his predecessors, which decribed " the Mullaji as a supreme being, inferior only to the deity who has created them all."[4] In the earlier stages of the trial it was contended on several occasions by the counsel for the defence (the Mullaji), that " the Mulla Sahib was in effect God, or for all practical purposes God, and that this suit was sacrilege."[5] Later the counsel withdrew the first assertion. He then made clear that the Mulla's power was thrice delegated : by God to Muḥammad, by Muḥammad to the Imam, and by the Imam to the *Dā'ī al muṭlaq*. Because he has powers similar to the Imam he is considered to be *ma'ṣūm*, sinless.[6]

[1] BLR, 1922, XXIV, p. 1072.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 1071.
[3] Najm al Ghani Khan, *op. cit.*, pp. 309/310 ; Abdul Husein, *op. cit.*, pp. 63 ff. ; Faridi, *op. cit.*, p. 32.
[4] BLR, XXIV, p. 1070.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 1067.
[6] *Ibid.*, 1066.

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Witnesses for the defendant testified that

> the mullaji Sahib is the representative of God on earth, and as such, is infallible and immaculate. . . . According to these tenets, the Mulla is the master of the mind, property, body and soul, of each of his followers; that these followers are bound to obey him implicitly, and cannot question any act of his; that he is entitled to take any property from his followers, whether trust or private property, and if the former, to alter and cancel the trust, and that there cannot be any such thing in the Dawoodi Borah community as a permanent, irrevocable trust . . .[1]

The authority of the Mullā was stressed in the statements of witnesses:

> The Mullaji is the owner and master of the community. Everything is vested in the Mullaji. We are only working as his Mehtas and clerks. By 'we' I mean the whole community.[2]

Madhūn

The deputy of the *Dā'ī*, known as the Madhūn, the permitted to rule, officiates for him when he is away. If the *Dā'ī* is present the *Madhūn* inquires into all important matters and then lays them before the *Dā'ī*. His is a very influential position

Mukāsir

The assistant to the *Madhūn*, has the title of *Mukāsir* or the executor. He looks after many of the smaller details of the religious work, referring the more important to the *Madhūn*, for his decision.

Shaikh

The *Shaikh* (pl. *mashā'ikh*) officiates in the larger centres, seats people and announces the orders of the *Dā'ī*. Formerly he was well trained in esoteric doctrines and prepared for advancement, but this is less true now. With the 'Amil's permission he may lead in prayers.

Mullā

Members of this grade are the leaders of worship in small scattered communities, but where there is more than one mosque the *mullā* and the *peshimām* are different persons. Mullas also often teach schools.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 1071.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 1074.

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Miyān Śāḥib

Appointed to a lowly office the *Miyān Ṣāḥib* substitutes in the leading of prayers. He is given a white shawl, which he may either wrap around himself, or carry under his arm.

Besides these there are Amils, who have the rank of *Mashā'ikh*, being selected from among them. They act as field representatives of the *Dā'ī*, and have some oversight of the lowest order, and also collect certain dues. In cities like Burhanpur, Ujjain, Karachi and Bombay the Amils are likely to be relatives of the *Dā'ī*.

The Mithāq or Oath

The Covenant oath which is administered to every Bohra convert is of supreme importance in the life of the community. It is taken by children at the age of fifteen. It is renewed every year by every Bohra, on the eighteenth of Dhul 'Hijja, the anniversary of *Ghadīr Khum*, when he puts his hand on the palms of Sayyidnā, or his representative. The form is given in full in *Gulzare Daudi*. The translation is imperfect but the meaning is clear. The date of the origin of the oath in its present form is uncertain. At the time of the case in the High Court, 1920, it was said to be ninety years old.[1] But much of its content, sometimes the exact words, has been traced back to the Fatimid times. The recurring expression, Amir al Muminīn, after al Ṭaiyib's name, surely savours of the dynasty. Ivanow says " its dogmas are more primitive "[2] than those found in the first book of the *Da'āim al Islam*, and except for the Shiite element which it contains " does not practically differ from the most orthodox creeds of that time."[2] It compares well with the account of the oath as given by Nuwairi except that he does not mention the Imam and the *waṣī*. The oath is called by the Bohras *'Ahd al awlīya*, the covenant of friends. Its form is exactly the same for men and women except in the feminine form of verbs and adjectives. For new converts the taking of the oath is preceded by long and careful teaching.[3] Before administering it to a person who is new to the community, the *Dā'ī* or his representative, gives an exhortation or address which includes a brief statement of many of the principal doctrines of the sect, setting forth how God provided for guidance " by which one can reach Him and make a ladder to

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 1073.
[2] A Creed of the Fatimids, pp. 13/15.
[3] This account of the Covenant oath follows Gulazare Daudi.

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climb to Him and He made a path leading to the ladder—his covenant." At the conclusion of the address the *Dā'ī* says :

> You have heard my words, are pleased with my conditions and made your soul such as to adopt it, run towards it having in view the *deen*, and not the wants of the world, and not to play a trick in order to deprive some of you of his rights. If it is so say ' Naam.'

After this the *Dā'ī* proceeds, " Hear what I read to you." And paragraph by paragraph he outlines the doctrines of the sect, many of which had been referred to in the address just completed, and awaits the answer " Naam " from each person after each part. The answer " Naam " signifies " we heard and we agree," and is equal to an oath.

The Covenant is one of loyalty to the Imam Abū al Qāsim al Ṭaiyib Amir al Muminīn who "is your Imam whose worship is compulsory " for all who have learned of him and received his blessings. It is he whom they must not " refrain from helping " and whom they must obey as well as his representatives. Repeatedly the candidate for admission to the sect is warned against trickery :

> You will not have connection with his enemy by letter, message, hint, signal, sign, inclination, and trick.
> You shall not dissemble, use tricks and deceive it. But it should be with true intents, clear purposes, good mind, pure conscience, and sincere secrets.
> You will not be deceitful and cheating and playing tricks until you meet God on the day of meeting as those who have fulfilled their covenant and preserved their Imam.

Repeatedly secrecy is enjoined :

> You will conceal what you heard and what you will hear by reading Quran and performing religious rites ; you will not disclose what is to be hidden, protecting the religion of God, and preserving the laws of the Prophet of God, peace be upon him, and his descendants.
> You will not disclose to anyone among you separating from what you gave oaths to the Imam Tyeb Amir al Muminin.

Repeatedly the importance of the oath is stressed :

> You took upon yourselves as a duty and made firm upon your necks the covenant of God which is asked for and confirmed ; and His bond that is stout and tight, with your obedience and pleasure, owing to (your) inclination ; and not for the sake of fear.
> There is no outlet to separate you from the obedience of which

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I have taken oath upon you, and God is sufficient for the evidence.

For one who keeps the covenant "God will give him great reward," but one who violates his oath

is cut off from God, the Creator of the skies and the earth who ordained him (limbs) and blessed him with good health. And he is cut off from Taurat (pentateuch), the gospel, Psalms of David, Quran the great, and the perfect words, truly and justly.

The Foundations and Doctrines

In theory the Imam, through his descendants who still live concealed, continues to be the most important " foundation " in the religion of the Bohras,[1] In fact, to many, his place is taken by the *Dā'ī al muṭlaq* who is his representative. Succession of the *Dā'ī* is dependent on *naṣṣ* following guidance which the *Dā'ī* receives from the Imam.

Quran

The Bohras name the Quran as the first of their religious books.[2] It is greatly respected and is taught in their schools. Verses from the Quran are sometimes found in the windows of well-to-do Bohra homes. The only reference to the Quran in the Covenant is to the fact that it was sent down during the month of Ramaḍān. It is read for Bohras on their death-bed. Esoteric meanings which are known only to the *Dā'ī* and a few others limit the value of the Quran for most Bohras, though essential facts are said to be dealt with in addresses to congregations.

Sunna

In the court the Mullajī stated that the " Hadees " or " the sayings of the Prophet " were one of their principal books.[3] The probability is that the Sunna holds the same place with the Bohras that it did with the Fatimids—it is not needed.

God

The Covenant of the Bohras acknowledges that there is no God

[1] Except as indicated the account of Foundations and Doctrines and Duties follows Gulzare Daudi.
[2] BLR, XXIV, p. 1074.
[3] *Ibid.*

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but Allāh, that he is alone and without a partner. " He is the Creator of the skies and the earth and what is between them." But so thoroughly are Bohras taught concerning the infallibility of the Imams and the " superiority of their dais " that such testimony as some gave in the High Court confirms the teaching of the sect that God is very remote and very abstract.

Prophet

Muḥammad is recognized as the servant and Prophet of God and the " Head of all the Prophets." Referring again to the testimony in the court case, when the counsel withdrew the claim that the Mullajī " was in effect God," he continued then to insist that " though he has not the rank he has the powers of the Holy Prophet Mahomet, and that he is a saint or Wali."[1] Or again, " The Mulla Sahib does not claim the rank but only the powers of the Prophet."[2] These " powers of the Prophet " doubtless constitute the reason for the Da'ī's claim to have full authority over his followers, which is recognized by Bohras in their covenant. There is also a tradition that Allāh is said to be connected with his *Dā'ī* on the earth by a " rope " or bond, and all believers must, " through the help of the *Dā'ī*, cling to the rope and so gain salvation." The claim for authority is based on the *mīthāq* and also on verses from the Quran :

> The Prophet has a greater claim on the faithful than they have on themselves.
> Surely Allah has bought of the believers their persons and their property for this, that they shall have the garden.[3]

Religious Duties

Walāya

Affection for the Prophet's relations " is *walāya*, the first ' pillar ' of Islam."[4] It is very real in the Bohra community, whose *kalama* says : " There is no God but God and Muhammad is his Prophet, and Maulana 'Ali is the friend of God and the wasi of the Prophet."[5] The following paragraph is among those to which every Bohra subscribes in his oath with the answer " naam " :

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 1067.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 1073.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 1074.
[4] Fyzee, A. A. A., The Ismaili Law of Wills, p. 70.
[5] Najm al Ghani Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 295.

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> You will be regular in time in prayers, give zakat (tax) properly, keep fast in the month of Ramzan, in which God has sent the Quran, go to the Baitullah-il-Haram if any of you can do that, visit the tomb of the grandfather of the Imam of your time Mohomed, Peace be on him and his descendants, fight in the cause of God fulfilling the duty of Jihad (religious war) and you will sincerely obey the Imam Tyeb Abul Qasim Amir ul Muminin, peace be on him who is your Imam. 'Say, Naam.'

Here are named the five duties that compose the *ibādat* or worship of a Muslim together with obedience to the Imam which is the most significant note for every Bohra. This grows directly out of *walāya*.

Prayer

The call to prayer, or *adhān*, used by Bohras follows the Shiite form, adding after "Come to the best of works" the words "Muhammad and 'Ali are the best of creatures and their descendants are the best of mankind." Bohras have their own jama'at khanas and the *Dā'ī al muṭlaq* has power to exclude individuals from them. They have no *minbar* in their mosques. The Mullā uses a platform on wheels which is put in place for occasions when needed. Only Bohras may gather for prayer. Ablutions are like those of Sunnis. If a person who is not a Bohra enters for prayer they afterwards clean the spot where he has said his prayers. They pray as Shī'a do with their hands at their sides.[1] When they attend the *jama'at khāna* for prayer, they remove the clothes they have been wearing and use special garments for the occasion; elsewhere the prayers may be said in the garments that they ordinarily wear. Absence from regular prayers is punished by a fine of twenty cowries, whether for a rich or a poor man.[2]

Bohras pray three times in the day; in the morning when the *fajr* prayers are said, in the afternoon and in the evening. At these last two times, they combine two prayers so that all five prayers of the Sunnis are included. About twelve-thirty they have the *ẓuḥr* prayer, and after completing it they stop for a few minutes, walk around, and then returning repeat the *'aṣr* prayer which Sunnis have at half past four. In a similar way, they combine the sunset or *maghrib* prayer and the night, *'ishā* prayer.

[1] Lane-Smith, N. J., The Bohras of Bombay, The Indian Witness, March 7, 1928, p. 160.
[2] Russell, R. V., Tribes and Castes of the C.P., II, p. 348/349.

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After their prayers they repeat the names of Muḥammad, 'Ali and Fāṭima and the twenty-one Imams, asking each to assist and bless them. All the names are repeated every time. The Bohras do not have special prayers on Fridays, nor do they usually have the *khuṭba*, or address. They have a prayer book known as the *Ṣaḥifat al ṣalāt*, written as their other books in the Gujarati vocabularly with the Arabic script.

Intercession has an important place in the community. It may be made through the dead, or through the living. In either case the petition will pass to God through a *Dā'ī* and an Imam. If, for instance, a person to-day should ask for intercession of Seth Chandabhai whose tomb is in Bombay, the prayer will pass to God through the *Dā'ī* and through the Imam of Seth Chandabhai's time. On the other hand, if the petition is addressed through a person now living, or who has died during the time of the present *Dā'ī*, it will be channelled through him to the Imam and then to God. It should not be assumed that shrines are visited by illiterates and ignorant devotees only. I have stood at a point of vantage before the tomb of Saint Chandabhai, just off one of Bombay's main thoroughfares, and seen the procession of men who visited the shrine, many of them educated, able to converse in English, some coming in cars, others on foot.

Zakāt

No Bohra is permitted to forget *zakāt*, spoken of by 'Abdul Ḥusein as " tithes and taxes." In joining the sect, one subscribes to the following articles :

> All the properties, wealth, movable and immovable properties, capital, jewels, goods, cattle, animals for load and riding, or slaves or whatever he has earned from the world, these all are alms for the poor Muslims, nothing of which can be regained by any contrivance. " Say Naam."
>
> Whatever he will earn in his remaining life is forbidden to him but by the fulfillment of the Covenant which has been taken from him. " Say Naam."

In *Gulzare Daudi* we find the following as some of the religious dues which are paid by the community :[1]

(1) ***Zakāt al ṣalāt.*** This is a tax on every member. It used to be two annas a year, but is now four annas.

(2) ***Zakāt al fiṭr.*** This also, is an annual poll tax of four annas

[1] **Abdul Husein,** *op. cit.*, pp. 92 /97.

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per member. These two taxes are collected through amils during the month of Ramaḍān. Every man, woman and child, even embryos in the womb, are counted for this purpose.

(3) *Ḥaqq al nafs.* This is " a tax on the evolution of the soul of the deceased." It is Rs. 119/–, or multiples of this amount may be paid. It is collected from relatives of the deceased. The really poor pay less, or nothing ; the wealthy pay heavily.

(4) *Nikāh dues.* This is a marriage fee of Rs. 11/–. The rich pay more. For second and third wives the fee is much larger.

(5) *Salāmī Sayyidnā.* These are cash offerings for the *Dā'ī al muṭlaq.* They may be sent through the amils when the *Dā'ī* is on tour, and on special ceremonial occasions as on his birthday. " In his presence this *salāmī* or cash offering, is on a large scale."

(6) *Zakāt al da'wat.* These are offerings for maintaining the *da'wat.* It has three forms :

(a) An income tax which falls on merchants which is not collected from employees of the government or private servants. It represents 2½ per cent of the income for a year. Once a year, or so, trusted assistants, who are often relatives, called Sahib al *da'wat,* make the collections and enter facts in their registers. " Only the most bigoted religionists give their correct income." Borahs not liable to this assessment may make an offering under (5) above to these collectors.

(b) *Khums.* Among Bohras this is interpreted as being one-fifth of the expected income, such as inherited property. If a Bohra has five sons he must give one to the *Dā'ī* for training, or redeem him.

(c) *Kafarat.* These are cash payments in lieu of fasts or prayers by persons who cannot take the time for them, or who for reasons of health cannot perform them. They are intended for distribution to the poor.

(7) *Nazāra Muqām.* These are offerings made in fulfillment of vows to the hidden Imam. These are sent through the Amils or are taken to the Dais.

The author of *Gulzare Daudi* estimates that the income received through these sources will amount to ten or eleven lakhs of rupees in a year. There are also special demands for the erection of institutions, costs of communal litigation, and the support of the local schools and mullas and *mashā'ikh.* The Bohras use fines as a method of punishment and a considerable sum of money is received from this source also. Fines must be paid for such offences as non-attendance at daily prayer and remissness during

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Ramaḍān. Sometimes fines, and sometimes excommunication, follow offences of fornication and theft. Punishment by fines is said to be very effective.

Fasts

Ṣāum, or fast, is kept for all the thirty days of Ramaḍān, though the seventeenth, nineteenth and twenty-first nights are especially sacred and carefully observed. A fast on *Lailat al Qadr*, the twenty-seventh, is said to be better than a thousand months. It is particularly associated with Haḍrat Fāṭima. That night Bohras stay awake all night. The first and last Thursdays of every month and the middle Wednesday of every month are also days of fasting. Because the Bohras make their reckonings according to the astronomical calendar, they commence their fast a day or two before the Sunnis do and close that much earlier. It was because *Dā'ī* Quṭb al dīn followed this reckoning and began the fast of Ramaḍān earlier than the Sunnis, that he was killed.

Pilgrimage

So far as means allow Bohras accept the pilgrimage to Mecca as an obligation. The pilgrim is warned, however, that even this will not count with God unless he is true to his covenant. Bohras seek to arrive at Mecca a day or two before other pilgrims and largely perform their ceremonies apart. Besides the pilgrimage to Mecca, many Bohras make a pilgrimage to Karbala also. A smaller number go to Najaf, Cairo and Jerusalem. Rest-houses are provided for Bohra pilgrims at these places, and in some cases on the way to them, these having been built by community subscriptions or by public-spirited men. Unlike the Fatimids, Mustalian Bohras have developed the custom of visiting shrines. While we do not read of any tomb of an Imam of the Fatimid period being a shrine, the graves of most of the Dais in India, and many other saints, are so recognized, and pilgrimage with vows made to them are very common. Some of the more important of these shrines are the tombs of the Dais :

In Ahmadabad the tombs of Dais Nos. 25–33.
In Surat the tombs of Dais Nos. 42–46, 48–50.
In Jamnagar the tombs of Dais Nos. 34, 35, 36, and 38
In Mandvi the tomb of Dai No. 37.
In Ujjain the tombs of Dais Nos. 39, 40 and 47.
In Burhanpur the tomb of Dai No. 41.

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At most of these, rest-houses for Bohras are provided, and in some, for example that of Dā'ī Zakī al dīn at Burhanpur, accommodation with free board is provided for Bohra pilgrims as long as they wish to stay.

Shrines of saints—to mention only a few—are tombs

In Burhanpur of Sayyid 'Abd al Qādir Ḥākim al din and Shaikh Jivanji, the ancestor of seven dais.
In Galiakot of Fakhr al dīn.
In Bombay of Seth Chandabhai in the Fort; of Nathabhai in the Marine lines; of Ibrāhīm Nūr al din near the Crawford market, and of Adamji Pirbhai near Charni Road.
In Surat[1] of Mullā Wahidbhai.

Although the Borah community considers vows to Tazias and Tabuts at Muḥarram as idolatrous, they do have faith in vows made at the graves of saints as we have now mentioned. The following kinds of vows are recognized by Bohras:

1. To fast for a certain number of days.
2. To repeat a certain number of prayers.
3. To give to charity a certain sum of money.
4. To feed a certain number of persons.
5. To found some religious building.
6. To found or endow some charitable work.
7. To found a useful institution like a rest house at a shrine or a school.

Such vows when made are scrupulously kept. Occasionally, though not often, vows are made to the living *Dā'ī*.

Holy War

The *'Ahd al Awlīya* requires Bohras to " fight sincerely in their jihad " with their wealth and their bodies and their lives, whenever the Imam or the *Dā'ī* may require it.

Eschatology

Bohra eschatology follows closely that of the Fatimids. Salvation can only follow obedience to the Imam. At death a small parchment is placed on the breast of the deceased Bohra and a short prayer in his or her hand. The prayer is written in Arabic and bears the signature of the *Dā'ī* or his deputy. Because the prayer so clearly reveals Bohra religious thinking it is given in full:

I seek shelter with the Great God and with his excellent nature

[1] Lane-Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

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against Satan, who has been overwhelmed with stones. O God, this slave of yours who has died and upon whom you have decreed death, is weak and poor and needs your mercy. Pardon his sins, be gracious to him, and raise his soul with the souls of the Prophets, and the truthful, the martyrs, and the holy, for to be with them is good. This is Thy bounty. O God have mercy on his body that stays in the earth, and show him thy kindness so that he may be freed from pain and that the place of his refuge may be good. By your favourite angels ; by the serene angels ; by your messengers the Prophets the best of the created ; and by the Chosen Prophet the choice *Amin* Muhammad the best of those who have walked on earth and whom heaven has overshadowed ; and by his successor 'Ali the son of Abu Talib, the father of the noble Imams and the bearer of heavy burdens from off the shoulders of your Prophet ; and by our Lady Fatimah-i-zahra, and by the Imams of her offspring Hasan and Husain, descendants of your Prophet ; and by Ali son of Husain ; and by Muhammad son of Ali ; and Jaafar Son of Muhammad ; and Ismail son of Jaafar ; and Muhammad son of Ismail ; and Abdullah-al-mastur ; and Ahmad-al-mastur ; and Husain-al-mastur ; and our Lord Mahdi ; and our Lord Kaim ; and our Lord Mansur ; and our Lord Muizz ; and our Lord Aziz ; and our Lord Hakim ; and our Lord Zahir ; and our Lord Mustansir ; and our Lord Mustaali ; and our Lord Amir ; and our Lord the Imam-al-Tayyib, Abul Kasim, Amir-al-mominin, and by their deputies and their representatives ; and by the apostles ; and by the Kaim-i-Akhir-al-zaman (a) and his representatives ; and by the religious Imams of his time, may the blessings of God be upon them, and by the apostle *da'i* (b) for the time being our Sayad and Lord (c) . . . . ; and our Sayad the deputy of his Lordship (d) . . . ; and our Sayad the neighbour of his Lordship (e) . . . ; and the ministers of the law who are learned and just. God is the best representative and the best defender. There is no power nor virtue but in God.

(Explanation :

(a) Title of the Mahdi the coming Imam.
(b) Title of the High Priest or Mulla Sahib.
(c) This blank is for the name of the High Priest.
(d) Blank for the deputy's name.
(e) Blank for the neighbour's or assistant's name.)[1]

If salvation begins in obedience to the Imam, that is only its beginning. The process continues after death, enabling a faithful Bohra at last to " reach a state of perfection " which is really union with God. The spirit of a good man (Mustalian Ismā'īlī)

[1] Faridi, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

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after death is associated with the soul of a *good man* who is still living on earth. The spirit of the dead man can make suggestions for good or evil to the living person, but it can also learn from him. If when the good man who is the companion dies, the spirit that has been associated with him has learned enough then it is "attached to *a more perfect man*," or sent back to learn longer with some other *good man*.[1]

> Spirits raised to a higher degree of knowledge are placed in communion with the High Priest, and on his death are with him united to the Imams, and when through the Imams they have learned what they still require to know, they are absorbed into perfection.[1]

Abdul Ḥusein says that the time of placing the *ruqqa* on the breast, and the prayer in the hand of the deceased, is the time for the payment of the Ḥaqq-al-nafs. He adds that the feasts on the third day, *tijiya*; the ninth day, *noamia*; the thirtieth day, *masna*; the fortieth day, *chihlam*; and finally on the anniversary, *barsi*, when feasts are given, are other occasions when

> The local priest reads prayers for mercy on the deceased . . . if a man is rich these are the occasions for collecting the maximum amount of *haqq al nafs* and other religious dues.[1]

It is not surprising to read that the reform party is resisting the collection of such dues,[2] for the very possibility of synchronizing progress toward salvation with "feasts" and "dues" puts in human hands an instrument easily turned to misuse. The explanation of "good man" and "more perfect man" with whom spirits are associated is nowhere given, but since ascending steps include "the high priest" and the "Imam," the uninitiated may be pardoned for wondering if the terms refer to the descending steps which are named in the prayer above, as (d) "the deputy of his Lordship," and (e) "our neighbour of his Lordship," the very ones in fact who collect *haqq al nafs* and read the prayers for mercy.

[1] Russell, *op. cit.*, II, p. 347.
[2] Abdul Husein, *op. cit.*, pp. 103/104.

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CHAPTER XVIII

The Bohra Community Today

When under the pressure of Sunni governments the great resurge from Ismailism to the Sunni form of Islam occurred, the division followed a pattern in mass movement that is characteristic of India, namely caste, or occupational lines, with the result that the Daudi Bohra community to-day is composed entirely of merchants and traders, while the " Sunni " Bohras are as completely tillers of the soil. The Daudi Bohras number, according to the testimony of its leader in the court about three hundred thousand.[1] The number seems to be a little high, although the Mullā Ṣāḥib is said to have an accurate list of the whole community. Accurate figures are difficult to obtain. According to the census of 1931, the Bohra population of India numbers 212,752.[2] As with other Shiite communities, this number is likely to be under rather than above the true figure. The community includes a considerable number in the Yaman, Fyzee calling a figure of twenty-five to thirty thousand " a modest estimate."[3] Besides these there are Bohras, i.e. Mustalian Ismailis, in South Arabia, the Persian Gulf, East Africa, the Straits Settlements, Burma, and as many as two hundred in Spain.[4] The number of the mosques in the community in 1921 is said to have been 648.[5] By and large the community may be described as enterprising, well-to-do, quiet, clean and tidy. It cares for its own poor, and I was told that Bohras very seldom act as servants for non-Bohras. They do not use intoxicating drugs and liquors, nor do they smoke tobacco, avoiding even the smell of these things as far as they can.

Bohras like to live together in a section of the village or city where others do not live. As a community they are very exclusive, not only having their own mosques and cemeteries, but preferring to have only members of their own community share in their joys and griefs. They marry only within their community,

[1] BLR, 1922, XXIV, p. 1068.
[2] CIR, 1931, I, pt. 2, p. 529.
[3] Fyzee, A. A. A., A Chronological List of the Imams, JBBRAS, 1934, X, p. 16.
[4] CIR, 1931, I, pt. 1, p. 72.
[5] BLR, XXIV, 1068.

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and they will not eat or drink from the hands of Hindus. If their clothes should be washed by a Hindu *dhobi* they will sprinkle holy water on them to purify them before using. The Bohras have nothing to do with music or dancing. They are, however, very fond of fireworks. They surpass the Hindus in lighting their houses at Diwali festival, and like the Hindus close their accounts for the year at that time and also open new books then.[1] They also enter their accounts according to the Hindu days and months. Bohra women wear skirts and pardah is little observed among them.

For the most part the Daudi Mustalians in the Yaman live apart from the divisions that have marked the community in India. In 1935 the Daudi Bohras in India were agitated by a situation that followed the signing of a treaty between the governments of the Yaman and the Hejaz in 1934. It was reported that the Imam of al Yaman was seeking by forceful means to induce the Daudis to join his sect. The schools of the Daudis had already been compelled to teach the doctrines of the ruling sect. A protest from the *Da'i al muṭlaq* in Surat brought an answer from Imam Yahya of the Yaman

> warning the Bohra High Priest not to interfere in matters which are the domestic concern of the Yaman, and that any outside interference would be resented.[2]

A citizen of the Yaman then in India, when interviewed said he thought it was natural for the Imam of al Yaman to desire "complete unity in his kingdom by having all his Mohammedan subjects under his spiritual as well as his temporal guidance."[2]

Persistent discontent and agitation within the Bohra community in India has continued to break out at intervals, sometimes with important loss for the whole community. Such an instance followed immediately after the death of the forty-sixth *Dā'ī*, Muḥammad Badr al dīn who died suddenly in 1840, two days before he was to announce his successor. A society of *Mashāikh* thereupon gathered and, led by one of their number, took the oath of allegiance to Sayyidnā Najm al dīn.

> For the first time in this community the superstitious and firm belief in the supernatural and divine character of the Da'wat was slackened.[3]

This question of succession was injected into the court case of

[1] Lane-Smith, *op. cit.*, 159.
[2] The Statesman (Delhi Edition), March 19, 1935, p. 10.
[3] Abdul Husein, *op. cit.*, pp. 49/50.

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1921, but not for a decision. The present *Dā'ī* has found it necessary to refute the charge that the principle of *naṣṣ* had been violated, and to do so he wrote a book entitled *Zue Nure Haqqul Mubin*. Seeming to fear the possible recurrence of such methods as had placed him in the office of *Dā'ī al muṭlaq*, Sayyidnā Najm al dīn took the course of breaking the power of the *Mashāikh* by multiplying their number.

He did this by discontinuing the requirement of a degree from the college or training school in Surat for *Mashāikh* and appointing some who had only " worldly influence " to this important position. He succeeded in forestalling a revival of the *Hilful Fazail* and he was able to nominate his successor without opposition or advice from any group. The remedy weakened the work of the sect, for in effect it destroyed the college that had been established for training leaders as long ago as between 1807 and 1809. The college is said to have been analagous to a Fatimid Lodge, and especially trained men for the grade of Mulla and Shaikh. The latter degree provided the class from which the highest grades were always filled. Candidates for admission to the College took the oath of allegiance, and their course included Arabic literature, theology, *ta'wīl* and *ḥaqīqat*. Among the books taught was *Rasa'il Ikhwan al safa*. The college is said once to have had an enrolment of as many as five hundred, with an annual budget of forty thousand rupees. In 1919 it had become " only a maktab, or a primary school, and that, too, without good and devoted teachers."[1]

In 1897, while Burhān al dīn was the *Dā'ī al muṭlaq*, a young man of keen intellect and pleasing manner, a merchant in Bombay named 'Abd al Ḥusain ibn Jivaji, came to Nagpur. He claimed that he had been in direct communion with the Imam and that he had been made a *ḥujjat*. He defeated many Daudis in debate and offered to debate with the *Dā'ī al muṭlaq* when an impartial jury of an equal number of Sunnis, Twelvers, Christians and representatives of other faiths, would decide the issue. Both sides should accept the decision. Because of continued unrest among them, he was joined by some fifteen of the *Mashāikh* at his headquarters at Mahdibagh. With them were also " some rich and enterprising merchants." It was not long before the *Mashāikh* became disillusioned. The hujjat-pretender proved to lack the necessary knowledge and the whole affair looked like an effort to make worldly gain. 'Abd al Ḥusain appointed as his successor

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 73/77.

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one Ghulām Ḥusain (Khan Bahadur H.H. Mulak). He and his followers became involved in a case with the Income-tax Department which on his appeal finally reached the Privy Council in 1930, in which case he is described as

> the religious head of a sect or community called the Atba-e-Malak and held the properties and business from which the income was produced as a *waqf*, or trust, to use the income wholly for religious or charitable purposes.[1]

The Court found that the documents he had submitted to prove his claim failed to do so, for there were clauses that permitted the use of income

> for carrying on the agricultural, industrial, commercial and other pursuits of the community. . . . For entertaining guests, giving at-homes, or parties . . . ' for such donations for charitable or religious purposes, contributions to memorials, funds raised for holding social, educational, religious, industrial or political conferences or congresses, and for public entertainments ' as the then spiritual head, and after him, the spiritual head for the time being, may deem fit.[1]

The " Mahdibaghwalas " are a small group—" about one hundred Bohra adherents." They have their own detached community, and do not intermarry with other Bohras. They are also called " Nagpuris," or " Malaks."[2]

It is interesting to know that although these separate groups have put themselves outside of the Daudi Bohra community, yet they continue to believe in Bohra tenets. They continue to be " pious and zealous Ismailis,"[3] in the belief that *imān* is a matter of personal faith and no *dā'ī* can excommunicate them. In their numbers these small sub-sects are insignificant, while the 'Alias, Nagoshias, and Hiptias are dwindling away.[3]

If the question of succession has caused agitation and secession from the Daudi Bohra community, almost as much has the question of ownership of *da'wat* property and income created unrest and grievance. The High Court case of 1920 was in fact brought in an effort to answer this question. The issues were raised around : (1) a mosque, (2) a shrine with its *gulla* funds, and (3) properties purchased from these funds, all of which plaintiffs wanted to be constituted as a trust for which trustees should be appointed who would render an account.

[1] BLR, 1930, XXXII, pp. 1538/1541.
[2] Abdul Husein, *op. cit.*, pp. 49/53.
[3] Ivanow, Guide, 11 ; Cf. Fyzee, Ismaili Law of Wills, p. 4.

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Regarding mosques of which there were 648, the Mullaji took the position

> that the mosque in common with all the mosques of the community was vested in him by virtue of his office and that he held the same as *Da'i* for the community, but was empowered by virtue of his office to close at any time the mosque or any mosque belonging to the community.[1]

In his judgment the Judge clearly declared concerning mosques that: (1) the mosque is God's house and is held by the Mullā as *Dā'ī* and it passes on his death to his successor on the *gaddī* and not to his heirs; (2) the Mullaji cannot alienate the mosque; (3) he cannot close it except temporarily; (4) it is for Daudis, "although others may occasionally be permitted to use it;" (5) it cannot be used for any other purpose. "He may also have the right to prohibit his followers from attending any particular mosque, but this I need not decide."[2]

As for funds the learned Judge distinguished between gifts known as *salāmī* which are made to the Mullaji as personal gifts and are his own, and *gulla* offerings, which are for the "benefit of the community." The *Dā'ī* stated that there were sixty-nine shrines where *gulla* funds were received. The judgment accepted the following as appropriate uses for these funds:

> allowances to the learned, allowances to the Amils, allowances to the dais in trouble; assistance to Daudi Bohras to start business; assistance in marriage; the maintenance of schools, the repairs of mosques and other Dawat property, and assistance to pilgrims.[3]

With regard to the *gulla* offerings received at the Chandabhai tomb, which was the shrine especially involved in the case, the following objects of the trust, in order of priority, were recognized: (1) the upkeep of the tomb of Seth Chandabhai; (2) the upkeep of the mosque; (3) holding the customary *majlis* and *Urs* feast on the anniversary of the saint; (4) holding of a feast on the 21st of Ramaḍān, and (5) such other charity or charities for the benefit of the Daudi Bohra community as the Mullaji approved.[4]

It was also decided that in all matters of property and funds, excepting offerings to him in person, the Mullaji was in fact Trustee, but that since most of the community were satisfied with his management of the affairs of the *da'wat*, there was no necessity for the appointment of other trustees.

[1] BLR, 1922, XXIV, p. 1063.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 1089.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 1101.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 1110.

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The Mullaji appealed the case, unwilling to be bound as trustee. Then a compromise was effected between both sides by which the Mullaji might at any time put a " box or other receptacle " outside of the immediate shrine enclosure, but near it, the same to be clearly labelled as being " at the absolute disposal of the Da'i al Mutlaq for any purpose, charitable or not."[1] Now visitors may see a steel safe, chained to the wall, on one side of the entrance to the building, while on the other side, perhaps twelve feet removed, is the shrine where no collection box was visible. Above the safe is a sign making clear that the funds deposited are for any purpose, charitable and not charitable, according to the law of the land, and at the direction of His Holiness for any purpose. The small room containing the shrine has on its walls several mirrors, on which are beautifully written the names of the Panjtan. The mosque is clearly marked as for Bohras.

At the head of the Daudi Bohra community is the *Dā'ī al muṭlaq*, representing the Imam and therefore, as we have seen, thought by many to be sinless, *ma'ṣūm*, and to have complete religious knowledge. Since the death of Hurra Malika the Dais have not had temporal power, either in the Yaman or in India. But Sayyidnā Ṭāhir Saif al dīn like his predecessors since 1866, has the title of a first-class Sardar of the Bombay Presidency.[2] When he arrives in Bombay or Poona he is met by a representative of the Governor.[3]. He travels in a special railway carriage, with reserved carriages for his staff and attendants. On ceremonial occasions he sits on a *gaddī* with royal fly-flappers held before him and above him.[4] The *Dā'ī al muṭlaq* is in his way a Prince who has no kingdom, but a ruler none the less.

He exercises through his Amils and other representatives very close control over the religious and social activities of all members of his community. All religious ceremonies such as the *'aqīqa* ceremony for a small child, and marriages, festivals following funerals, require his permission.[5] No one can lead in prayers without the permission of the *'Amil*. All public feasts given by individuals within the community must be sanctioned. His permission must be secured for publishing or translating religious books. Yet, Abdul Husein, one of the dissentients in the community, says that it is this very strict supervision that has held

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 1111.
[2] Abdul Husein, *op. cit.*, p. 85.
[3] Lane-Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 159.
[4] Abdul Husein, *op. cit.*, p. 87.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 88/89.

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the community together during periods of persecution. With what strictness this control is maintained was made clear to the world by a law suit (1940) growing out of the annulment by the *Dā'ī* of the marriage of a Bohra couple which had been performed in 1937, because it had not been properly sanctioned and because the groom refused to meet the condition for such sanction by growing and maintaining a beard, which practice is incumbent on all Daudi Bohras.[1]

It would seem to have been a former custom for Mullas, who also acted as school teachers, to be paid from funds of the sect. They later received a fixed allowance of ten to fifteen rupees from local funds which they were able to increase by salamis received on such occasions as[2]

(a) The first day of the month.
(b) Public feasts of all descriptions.
(c) The time of prayers at the two 'Id festivals.
(d) After the oath of allegiance on 'Id al Ghadir.
(e) Marriages.
(f) The time of the *'aqīqa* ceremony of the child.
(g) The first visit made to new comers.

Local jama'ats receive funds from[3]

(a) A trade tax on articles bought and sold.
(b) A tax on the burial grounds.
(c) Collections from *gulla* boxes kept at shrines of local saints.

These funds may be expended for the following purposes :[3]

(a) The payment of the Amil's allowance.
(b) Feasts on the occasion of the Urs of local saints.
(c) Primary schools, or for scholarships for poor Bohras or the dependent children of Mullas and Mashāikh.

Where local funds are inadequate the *Dā'ī* may supplement funds from those of the *da'wat* in his control. The Qur'an is taught in all primary schools.

An illustration of the close organization of the community was afforded in 1931 when the Bombay government decided to include the Daudi Bohra community within the provisions of the Muhammadan Waqf Act from which they had originally been exempted in 1923. Processionists carrying posters and black banners shouted "Boycott the Waqf Act," in Bombay and Karachi, and a mass meeting of Daudi Bohras in Mombasa sent a

[1] The Statesman, 1940, Feb. 5, p. 9 ; March 7 ; March 29, p. 6.
[2] Abdul Husein, *op. cit.*, pp. 98/100.
[3] *Ibid.*

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telegram to the Governor, protesting the decision.[2] The attitude of the Government was attributed by the protestants to " the evidence of a few dissentients of the community."

The Sulaimānī Community

The Sulaimānī Bohra community is small, only some five hundred in all.[2] So far as religious tenets are concerned they are in full agreement with the Daudis, differing only in the matter of dais that they recognize. They do use a slightly different nomenclature in their organization. They retain the old Ismā'īlī term *jazīra* for a district, and recognize three of these divisions : al Yaman, Sind and Hind. The *Dā'ī* of the Yaman is called *Dā'ī qabā'il Yām* ; for Sind and Hind he is known as *manṣūb*. The *Manṣūb* for Hind lives at Baroda. If a *Dā'ī* definitely appoints a successor to himself, or to a *manṣūb*, that officer-designate is called *al muṭlaq* ; and when on the death of the existing *Dā'ī* or *manṣūb* the *muṭlaq* attains the position for which he had been designated, he is then called *al munfarid* or *al mustaqil*.[3]

In their advance during recent years the Sulaimanis have largely given up the Gujarati Bohra dress and turban, and they intermarry with Sunni Muslims.[4] Although the community is small, it has to its credit the first Muslim barrister, solicitor, engineer and doctor.[5] A Judge of the Bombay High Court, Mr. Justice Badr al din Tayabji was also a member of this community.

Mustalian Literature

The Mustalian Ismailians are heirs and custodians of a great part of the Fatimid library treasures, whether in the Yaman or in India. Much has however been lost ; in all probability a great part never got out of Egypt.

Ivanow divides the literature of the Western Ismailis, or Mustalians, into two parts, that belonging to the period of the *Zuhūr*, i.e. until 526/1132, and that belonging to the period of *Satr*. The latter period may be divided into two parts—the Yamanite and the Indian, the Yamanite period closing at the

[1] The Pioneer, 1931, July 30, p. 3 ; Aug. 10 and 24 ; Sept. 4, p. 7.
[2] Ivanow, Guide, p. 10.
[3] Fyzee, Three Sulaimani Dais, JBBRAS, XVI, 1940, pp. 102/103.
[4] Faridi, *op. cit.*, p. 33 ; Enthoven, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 204/205.
[5] Damishkey, P. J. E., Moslem Population of Bombay, Mos. W., I, p. 123.

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time of the division between the Sulaimanis and the Daudis. All literature of the Fatimid and pre-Fatimid periods, together with that produced in *Satr* before the division, belongs to both of these groups.

Many Bohras have libraries with some religious books and many have large collections, but the largest is that in the custody of the *Dā'ī*. It is said to include

> many thousands of Mss., many rare and rarest works, autographs of famous men and even of the Imams themselves, many excellent ancient copies, etc. According to the latest customs which are strictly followed by those concerned, every orthodox Bohra's private library is confiscated on his death, and goes to this library. Therefore one may expect a huge number of inferior copies of one and the same popular work. Very unfortunately a library so unique in the world is entirely inaccessible not only to an outsider but even to the faithful themselves, unless they have special connections with the people in charge. One may also expect that it is in a chaotic condition, and that it is not easy to find anything quickly.[1]

Notwithstanding this wall of secrecy which is maintained around Bohra literature, some day it will yield a fund of information in all branches of Islamic study. Slowly scholarship is making available works until now unknown or not available. The Islamic Research Association inaugurated in Bombay in 1933 has drawn together a group of scholars dedicated to the task of making important works available to the public through editions or translations. They have already to their credit a fine list of studies, several of which are in the field of Ismailism although its activities are not limited to any particular branch of Islamic studies.

Outside of this organization also, new studies are appearing such as Fyzee's *The Isma'ili Law of Wills*, and Ivanow's *A Creed of the Fatimids*, and noteworthy writings of Syed Mujtaba Ali, Bernard Lewis and P. H. Mamour, which throw new light on the development of Islam. Also of very great importance and help is Ivanow's *A Guide to Ismaili Literature*. A few works are being published by Bohras who are out of sympathy with sectarian restrictions, such as *Gulzāre Dā'ūdī*, which is an abbreviated translation of *al Mujizāt al Kafīya* by Sayyidnā Aḥmad al Nayasābūri, known to us from the extract which Ḥātim ibn Ibrāhīm included in his work, *Tuhfat al qulūb*.[2]

[1] Ivanow, *op. cit.*, p. 25.
[2] Ivanow, W., The Organization of the Fatimid Propaganda, JBBRAS, XV, p. 18.

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Various among the dais have written books of more or less importance. Among these is Sayyidnā Ghulām Ḥusain, the forty-sixth *Dā'ī* of the Sulaimanis and one of the seven Indians who has attained this office. He was a scholar in Arabic and wrote a number of works in both Arabic and Urdu, chief of which is *al Muntajal min Rāḥat al 'Aql*, an abridgement of Sayyidnā Ḥamīd al dīn al Kirmānī's *Rāḥat al 'Aql*, which ranks as " one of the most difficult, advanced, secret and rare works of the *ḥaqaiq*."

Many Bohra books are written in the Gujarati vocabulary with Arabic script. Ivanow speaks of a recent tendency to publish historical and not very secret works in Gujarati translations so that they may be more easily available for the community, but this is officially discouraged. The progressive party has also published a translation of the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al ṣafa* ; the *Tāj al 'aqā'id* by Sayyidnā 'Ali ibn Muḥammad al Walid, and Qāḍi Nu'man's *al Majālis wa'l Musāyarāt* in Gujarati.[1]

The best-known periodicals of the Bohras are *Nasimi Bahar* published by the supporters of the Mullaji, and *Gulzari Hakimi* published by his opponents. The circulation of both is limited ; the first is said to not accept subscriptions from non-Bohras.[2]

Law and Customs

Until comparatively recently the existence of an independent school of Ismā'īlī *fīqh* was hardly known. Its principal source is, of course, Qāḍī Nu'mān's *Da'āim al Islam*, already referred to. It is applicable to all Mustalians, though it has not been adequately translated and courts have erroneously proceeded on the basis of Shiite law, which is in fact a very vague term. Mullā Ḥājī Ghulām Ḥusain Ṣāḥib, who later became the forty-sixth *Dā'ī* of the Sulaimanis, was the first to present the *Da'āim* to Indian readers in an abridged form in both Urdu and Arabic under the title *Sharh al Masa'il*.[3] Fyzee has more recently made available that portion of the same work which deals with wills. Of interest by way of contrast with *Ithnā 'Asharīya* law is the fact that Ismā'īlī law agrees with Sunni law in rejecting *mut'a* marriage as invalid, and also in nullifying bequests made except with the consent of all the other heirs. The subject of law in any general way

[1] Ivanow, Guide, pp. 2/3.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] Fyzee, A. A. A., The Ismaili Law of Wills.

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is outside of the field of our study and those interested are referred to the writings in that field.

Likewise, those who are interested in fuller accounts of Bohra customs will find more material in *Gulzāre Dā'ūdī* and in Faridi's account in the *Bombay Gazetteer*.

Calendar and Holidays

The Mustalian Ismailis have a calendar which differs somewhat from the usual Islamic calendar, not only in being based on the astronomical New Moon, but also in so arranging that the month of Ramaḍān always has thirty days.[1]

The custom of public feasts on special days has a strong hold on the Bohra community. These are paid for from the Dā'ī's funds during the first ten days of Muḥarram, on the third day of Ramaḍān, and when there is a marriage or death in the family of the *Dā'ī*. A new *Dā'ī* will feast his people for three days after he has assumed authority, and again on the tenth and fortieth days, and at the end of the year.[2] Middle-class and rich families will have public dinners on other significant days in the family calendar, like an *'aqīqa* ceremony, marriage or death.

The following list of special occasions for public feasts financed from community funds, or by the rich, together with the two 'Id festivals, would seem to include the holidays which are observed by the community.[3]

Muḥarram	1–10	In Memory of Ḥusain.
	27	The anniversary of Fakhr al dīn, the martyr.
Safar	10	Chihlam, in memory of Ḥusain.
Sha'bān	14	*Shab i Barāt*. The fate of Muslims for the year is fixed on this night.
Jumada II	27	Martyrdom of Dā'ī Quṭb al dīn.
Ramaḍān 17, 19, 21		In memory of 'Ali.
	27	*Lailat al qadr*, associated with Haḍrat Fāṭima.
Dhu'l Hijja	18	'Id al Ghadīr, day of taking the oath, or Mithāq.
——	—	The birthday of the Imam.
——	—	The birthday of the *Dā'ī al muṭlaq*.

[1] Fyzee, A Chronological List of the Imams, JBBRAS, X, p. 9.
[2] Faridi, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
[3] Abdul Husein, *op. cit.*, pp. 109/111.

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Almost every one of these days is said to have its own special dish as a part of the feast that is held.

A word concerning Muḥarram should perhaps be added. The season is carefully observed by the Bohras, not primarily with *majālis* but with meetings at which the principal tenets of the Bohra faith are explained, and sermons given on morals and other subjects of importance to the community.[1]

The Future of the Bohra Community

Bohra history has been marked by frequent tensions, sometimes resulting in divisions of great significance. These have usually been due to resentment at what was considered as the excessive power of the *Dā'ī*, or the method of his selection which seemed to entrench reactionary positions, or the use of *da'wat* funds. Although active groups criticize some or all of these features, they are not following the old method of breaking away from the parent group, but remaining within it they are seeking to effect changes. It was by representatives of this group of malcontents that action was brought in the High Courts to establish legal trustees of all *da'wat* property. While others were protesting, the application of the *Waqf* act to the Bohra community the Young Men's Bohra Association in Karachi sent a resolution of appreciation of Government action requesting also that other recommendations of the Waqf Act Inquiring Committee be enforced also. This Association is the spearhead for many who are willing to accept the absolute authority of the *Dā'ī* in spiritual matters but reject it in temporal matters.

> They want to abolish the custom of giving expensive caste dinners on the occasion of marriages and funerals . . . they shave their faces clean . . . they adopt the western style of dress, which is most unusual among their people.[2]

They wish to establish hospitals, high schools and other institutions for the uplift and progress of the community.

The future is with this reforming element. Bohra leadership, it would seem, has fallen far below its true heritage in needing such prodding from its friends. Ismailism grew in protest to reactionary, static conditions. The Fatimid Imams gloried not alone in the spread of empire but even more in the Lodge which was a symbol of the spread of science and learning, religious and

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 62.
[2] Lane-Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

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secular, and a leadership to new ideas of truth in the world. That world has moved forward a long way since the time of the Fatimids. Surely in this day of challenge the " concealment " of the Imam is inadequate reason for holding closely to the deadened condition that gradually settled down over the Ismā'īlī *da'wat* following the brilliant era of al Mustanṣir and al Shirāzī. The conception of the Mahdī which we have seen was merged with the Imamate during the dynasty clearly fixed Ismailism as an ongoing, continuing, movement toward realization of the Ismā'īlī goal. Political conditions and severe persecution may have slowed advance at some time. But no community can stand still long ; it must maintain its life by maintaining advance. The Mustalian Ismailis have lost both ground and time. The leaders of the community may well be grateful that its own members challenge them once more to tread the path of learning, tolerance and progress.

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CHAPTER XIX

NIZARI IMAMS OF ALAMUT

THE moving spirit behind the propaganda of Nizār, eldest son of al Mustanṣir, who was displaced by a change of *naṣṣ* on behalf of the youngest son, Musta'lī, was Ḥasan ibn Ṣabbāḥ whom we met in Egypt during the reign of al Mustanṣir. His genealogy as drawn up by his admiring followers was al Ḥasan ibn 'Ali ibn Muḥammad ibn Ja'far ibn al Ḥusain ibn al Ṣabbāḥ al Himyārī. This account of his origin has been contradicted supposedly on the authority of Niẓām al Mulk[1], who insisted that Ḥasan was of peasant birth. When Ḥasan heard of this genealogy, he put it aside, saying : " I would rather be the Imam's chosen servant than his unworthy son."[2] He came to be known as "Bābā Sayyidnā" by Ismailians of the Nizārī branch.

Born in an *Ithnā 'Asharīya* family Ḥasan was a member of that sect until his youth.[3] After an illness his interest was drawn again toward the teaching of the Ismailis which he had earlier heard at Rai from Amira i Darrāb. He became particularly impressed with the statement of one known as Mu'min, who seems to have ranked as a subordinate *dā'ī*. To him Ḥasan ibn Ṣabbāḥ gave his *bai'at*, or oath of allegiance to the Imam. When his chief *dā'ī*, Ibn 'Aṭṭash, came on his visit Ḥasan met him. He, too, was impressed with Ḥasan's superior ability and promise and directed him to go to Cairo. Here he seems to have found al Afdal a hindrance in his path due to his apparent control of the Imam. Ḥasan speaks as if he were expelled from the country and placed on a ship for the Maghrib. But the sea was rough and Ḥasan reached the Syrian coast. From Damaghan, where he stayed awhile, he sent out dais,[4] one or more going into the vicinity of Alamut where lived an Alid named Mahdī who held it on a concession from Mālik Shāh. A number living in Alamut were converted to the new teaching and for a while the Alids seemed

[1] Defremery, M., Tarikhi Guzidah, JA, Series 4, 1849, XIII, p. 26.
[2] Browne, E. G., A Literary History of Persia, II, p. 201.
[3] Ivanow, W., Kalami Pir, pp. xix/xx.
[4] Defremery, M., Historie des Ismaeliens, JA, series 5, 1860, XV, pp. 163 ff.

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interested. But Mahdī finally closed the doors of the fortress to the Ismailis. It was after this that Ḥasan came to that vicinity. He bided his time near by, and on the 6th of Rajab, 463/1090, was taken into the fortress by stealth. He remained there secretly for a time, being called the chief of the village by his followers. When the Alid learned of Ḥasan's identity, he could do nothing, having been betrayed by his own friends. He was paid three hundred dinars and allowed to leave. Ḥasan remained in control. From there he directed an intensified propaganda on behalf of Nizār as the Imam. The *da'wat* came to be called "the new teaching," *da'wat jadīd*. Ḥasan insisted on the strictest obedience to the Imam; there was no other means of knowing what one should do. As the representative of the Imam he insisted on this obedience to himself. So markedly do the lines of development in these two branches—the Nizarian and the Mustalian—diverge, that historians speak of one as the "Assassins," the Ismailis of Persia or the Eastern Ismailis, and the other as the Ismailis of Egypt or the Western Ismailis.

This new programme is said to have originated at Sawa in Persian 'Iraq,[1] not far from Alamut, where eighteen men met to celebrate the *'Id al Fiṭr*. They had attempted to win a *mu'adhdhan* of the vicinity to their teaching, but he finally rejected it. Fearful lest he might expose the group, they had him assassinated. The prime minister of Mālik Shāh at that time was Niẓām al Mulk. He directed that a carpenter who was suspected of the murder should be put to death. This made him a marked man. By 1092 Niẓām al Mulk had been assassinated and a little later in the same year Mālik Shāh had been also.

Ḥasan took for himself the title of Shaikh and came to be known as Shaikh al Jebel, or "the Old Man of the Mountain." He spent a great deal of money in repairing and strengthening the fortress and in providing it with stores. During the thirty-five years that he lived at Alamut he is said to have left the fortress only once and his house on only two occasions.

Established here in headquarters of his own as the Grand Master of Alamut, which was a prominence with such steep sides that it could be approached only from one side and then with difficulty, Ḥasan busied himself in prayer and study and in the spread of Nizarian teaching, sending dais far afield, but also making efforts to convert the inhabitants in the neighbourhood of Alamut.

[1] Defremery, M., Nouvelles Recherches aur les Ismaeliens, JA, series 5, 1854, III, pp. 373/374.

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Closely directed propganda was relied upon for winning converts to the sect, while assassination was the approved weapon for the removal or terrifying of enemies so as to protect the sect while it grew. It was this phase of their activity which gave to the movement the name "Assassins," the word being derived from the word *hashish*, a drug derived from hemp which Ḥasan is said to have given his *fidais* before they were sent on such missions. These men were selected and trained for their dangerous missions with as much care as commandos of this day, the training including foreign languages, the ceremonies of other religions, the use of disguises, etc. Assassins also worked through fear. It was sometimes enough for a person to awaken to find a dagger in the ground near his side as a reminder that in spite of guards he was not inaccessible. Or a letter by messenger might serve as warning. The person so spared might become an ally. Assassin spies glided around everywhere. Sometimes they were found within the circle of an enemy's guards. Death to a Fidā'ī was honourable and opened directly to Paradise with all its rewards.

Concurrently with his programme of teaching Ḥasan had extended his authority to neighbouring districts, until he had possession of a large number of forts similar to Alamut, so that at the height of his power he held one hundred and five forts in 'Iraq and Kohistan.

Ḥasan did not teach licence. He was no less severe in discipline with his sect than he was ruthless in dealing with his enemies. Nor was his family an exception.[1] He had two sons. The eldest was implicated in a murder and was executed with another. The younger son violated the provision forbidding the drinking of wine and was executed for that. Ḥasan's severity was so great that anyone " who played the flute in the chateau was expelled from the place and not permitted to return."[2] At the time of the siege of Alamut, Ḥasan sent his wife and two daughters to Kerdcouh with instructions that they should receive what was strictly necessary in return for their spinning or other work that they would do. From this grew the restrictions that no Ismā'īlī chiefs should keep women near them when they were in the exercise of their authority.

Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ is credited with a great deal of writing in the the interest of the sect. His *al Fuṣul al arba'a* is quoted by Shahrastāni. Ḥasan's biography, *Sarguzashtī Sayyidnā*, is the

[1] Defremery, M., Tarikhi Guzideh, JA, Series 4, 1849, pp. 36/37.
[2] Defremery, M., Historie des Ismaeliens, JA, 1860, XV, pp. 182/184.

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basis of his life as described in the *Tarīkhi Juwainī* and translated by Defremery. Ḥasan's story from the point of view of his followers is given in the *Jamī'a't-tawārīkh* of Rashīd al dīn, who gathered his material from people and books. Ḥasan's writings were sufficiently important to draw a reply from al Ghazālī. Taylor tells us that " in his last illness, he dictated the rules of the order and the catechism of its doctrines."[1]

Ḥasan was fortunate in having capable lieutenants. One of these was in charge at Kerdcouh, which he received as a grant from the Sulṭān and after fortifying it, declared his allegiance to Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ. Another was Kīya Buzurg Umīd, who with a companion made a surprise night entry into the castle of Lanbasar and killed its inhabitants. He stayed there until Ḥasan called him to Alamut at the time of his illness and appointed him as his successor. Ḥasan ibn Ṣabbāḥ died on Friday the 26th of Rabi II, 518/1124.

Kīya Buzurg Umīd followed the policies of Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ in maintaining a centralized control from Alamut, and also using emissaries from among the Fidais to strengthen the political control of the sect, which continued to be greatly feared. A descendant of 'Ali, named Abū Hāshim, came to power in the province of Gilan and claimed to be Imam. He was captured by a force from Alamut and burned alive when he did not heed an earlier warning to desist from such claims. The Seljukians were defeated in an attack on the fortress of Rūdbār. Following this Kīya sent an envoy to the court of the Sulṭān of Ispahan. He was well received by the Sulṭān but the people of the city being stirred by their religious leaders against honouring anyone representing the "Assassins" killed the envoy. The Sulṭān disclaimed any responsibility but was not able to identify and punish the guilty, so Kīya sent a force that made an unexpected attack, killed a magistrate of considerable rank and four hundred others in the city. This precipitated further strife which lasted several years. The tenth Fatimid *Khalīfa* Amir was assassinated by Fidais in 1126, as was the Abbasid *khalīfa* Mustarshid on a public road near Baghdad. Many others also met their deaths in this way. Kīya Buzurg Umīd died on Jumada I, 532/1138.

The third Grand Master of Alamut was Muḥammad, son of Kīya Buzurg Umīd. His term was marked by the death of another *khalīfa*, al Rashid, who had got together an army to revenge the death of his father. Muḥammad's period was not noted

[1] The History of Mohammedanism, p. 181.

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for anything very constructive. He sought to maintain the doctrines of the sect but he was rather weak. The Assassins of Syria seem to have had an independent origin from those of the east and to have later become united. For the purpose of administration, the supreme command of all the Syrian citadels was placed under one person, Abū Muḥammad, long a trusted dā'ī, who acted as lieutenant of the Grand Master of Alamut and controlled distant centres from his base at Khaf, through mutawallis. Apparently not willing to remove Abū Muḥammad, but desirous of maintaining his own control, the Grand Master of Alamut sent Rashīd al dīn Sinan to Kahf in 555/1160 to take over the fortress.[1] The new appointee had to wait nearly seven years, living an austere life in the vicinity of the fort, and known to the surrounding community as a saintly man, until just before the death of Abū Muḥammad. Rashīd al dīn then informed him that he had been sent to take his place. In time he rendered the Syrian branch independent of the Persian.

Muḥammad's son Ḥasan was born in 1125. He was a great student and carefully examined all the teachings of Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ, becoming very proficient in the exposition of the doctrines of the sect. He seems early to have conceived the idea of presenting himself as the Imam, completely severing the connection, however nominal, which till now the *khulafā* in Cairo had sought to have with the Grand Masters of Alamut, and even during the lifetime of his father he commenced to preach this new doctrine, claiming that he was the grandson of Nizār who had been deprived of his succession to the Imamate following Mustanṣir. By his suave manner and his eloquence he was able to get the people to believe him. Was not this the Imam preached by Ḥasan Ṣabbāh? They thought that he was. But when Muḥammad, his father, was informed of Ḥasan's conduct he denied it and before a large assembly said: "This Ḥasan is my son, and I am not the Imam but one of his dais. Whoever does not accept what I say is an infidel."[2] Thereupon the father executed two hundred and fifty persons who had been seduced by the teaching of his son Ḥasan, and expelled another two hundred and fifty from Alamut. This treatment seemed for the time to put an end to the heresy and to quiet the partisans, for Ḥasan publicly abjured his errors, although he continued his study and his writings. He also continued to drink secretly but was able to prevent his father from knowing

[1] Guyard, St., Un Grande Maitre des Assassins, JA, Ser. 7, IX, 1877, p. 353 ff.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 346.

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this and his followers regarded his use of wine as a further indication of the coming of the predicted Imam.

Ḥasan 'alā dhikrihi's salām

As soon as Muḥammad died, the thirteenth of Rabi' I in 557/1162, Ḥasan was immediately recognized as successor and he received the veneration due to the Imam. Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ had consistently insisted on conformity to the prescribed observances of Islamic law, but Ḥasan, now Grand Master and hereafter known as Ḥasan *'alā dhikrihi's salām*, or even as *dhikrihi's salām* alone, encouraged their violation even where they had been modified by Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ. In the list of Nizārī Imams we read of him that

> . . . he took off the ties and chains from the necks of his followers. 180,000 years had passed from the great ancient era to that time. The Prophet has himself predicted the date. And all that had been prophesied by Moses in the Torah, by Jesus in the New Testament, David in the Psalms, Abraham in his ' Books ', Zoroaster in the Book of Zand, and Bu Sa'idi Manawi in the Book of *Angliyun* (Euangelion), and all signs of the prophets came true with Mawlana Hasan 'ala dhikrihi's salam.[1]

Two years after succeeding to the office of Grand Master, Ḥasan determined to declare himself as the Imam in a public way. This is spoken of as the *Qiyāmati qiyāmat* when " the Lord of the eighteen thousand worlds was pleased to manifest himself in all his glory in the fort of Alamut."

> On the seventeenth day of the blessed month of Ramadan of the year 559 (8–VIII–1164), at the hour of the constellation Virgo, when the sun was in the sign of Cancer, he ordered that on the square of Alamut a *minbar*, or preaching chair, should be erected, facing the West. At the four corners of the *minbar* four banners were placed.[2]

Followers from near and far had been brought together for the occasion and were seated, those from Khorasan on the right, those from 'Irāqī 'Ajam at the left, and those from Daylamān, Rūdhār, and Bardā in the centre of the great square. Faqīh Muḥammad Busti mounted the *kursi* and sat on it.

> And then he, Lord of thousands of worlds and of men, Mawlana Hasan *'ala dhikri-hi's-salam* himself, dressed in white, and

[1] Ivanow, *op. cit.*, p. 60.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 60, n. 4, p. 61.

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with a white turban on his head, descended from the Fort of Alamut, about noon, and very slowly approached from the right of the *minbar*, and ascended it. Then he thrice said greetings to the people : first to the Daylamites, then to those on the right, and then to those on the left. He sat for a while on the *minbar*, then rose again, and, holding his sword, he said in a loud voice : " O ye, the inhabitants of the world, Jinns, men and angels ! Know and be aware that this day is called the Day of Union. And whoever will follow the orders will be saved from the punishment of the Day of Judgment. Now you have to carry the news of these orders of Our Lord to all the faithful (mu'minin), so that they may understand them and obey them.[1]

In the original version of *Haft-bābi* by Abū Isḥāq the account runs like this. After addressing Jinns, men and angels, the Imam continued :

Know that the Mawlā-nā *Qā'im* of the *Qiyamat*,—prostration and glorification be to him on his mention !—is the Lord of (all) things created, the Absolute Existence ; he is, in every way, beyond all negation of his existence, because he is more exalted than anything that sinners can associate with Him. He opened the gate of his mercy, making all alive by his generosity. Every one who knows (this) must offer glorifications and thanks to him. He is exalted beyond this in a great degree.[2]

After the reading of an introductory statement on the meaning of Qiyāmat

he sat for a while, and then rose, and delivered his second *khutba*. After this *faqih* Muhammad Busti stood up on his chair (*kursi*), turning his face toward the *minbar*, and read aloud the whole of the *khutba* and the Great Epistle, explaining them. And the Lord also remained standing until the reading was finished. Then he descended from the *minbar*, and recited two *rik'ats* of prayer, as appropriate on a holiday. On the day, to the end of it, people exchanged congratulations, feasting and rejoicing to the utmost. Restrictions and prohibitions of the *shari'at* were lifted from them. And on that day he ordered that in Mu'minabad of Quhistan and everywhere there should be a holiday.[2]

How important this release from the restrictions of religious law was considered to be is suggested by the inscription which Mirkhand assures us was inscribed on the portals of the library at Alamut.

[1] *Ibid.*
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 116/117.

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WITH THE AID OF GOD,
THE RULER OF THE UNIVERSE
DESTROYED THE FETTERS OF THE LAW;
BLESSINGS BE UPON HIS NAME.[1]

The date selected for this feast known later as *'Id al Qiyām*, was the date of the attack upon the *khalīfa* 'Ali and it was long celebrated by the Ismailians. According to *Tarīkhi Guzīdeh* it marked a new era for the sect, for they ceased to count by the era of the *hijra*, and new buildings erected after this were marked to show the date of their construction from this era.[2]

The claims of *dhikrihi's salām* extended to belief in his divinity and a great many who were unable to accept this doctrine preferred to exile themselves. Others patiently bided their time, by practice of *taqīya* until another Ḥasan, son of Namwar, a relative, murdered Ḥasan *'alā dhikrihi's salām* on the sixth of Rabi' I, 561/1166,[3] while the years of his authority were yet few. Ḥasan, the Imam, was credited with having written many religious works for his followers.[4] These are known best by quotations found in *Haft-bābi* by Abū Isḥāq.

Imams from Nizār to *dhikrihi's salām*

The claim that Ḥasan *'alā dhikrihi's salām* made to be the Imam has been an accepted article in the faith of the Ismailis of this branch since then. Some explanation was necessary, therefore, to cover the period of the Imamate for the interval from al Mustanṣir to Ḥasan *'alā dhikrihi's salām*. Nizār, as we saw, rebelled against his brother, was captured and imprisoned. Records do not indicate how long he lived in prison. Roughly speaking, there is a period of nearly seventy years, A.H. 487–557, for which we have no record of Imams in the Nizārī line. For a sect that insists that there is always an Imam, and that if the Imam is concealed the *ḥujjat* or a designated *dā'ī* carries on the *da'wat*, and that "it is impossible for both the Imam and his *ḥujjat* to be hidden,"[5] the period seems dark indeed. Historians of the period leave the impression that Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ championed Nizār and completely broke any connection with the Mustalian line. This is also supported by the lists of the

[1] Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 186.
[2] Defremery, Tarikhi Guzideh, JA, 4, 1849, XIII pp. 41/42.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 43.
[4] Ivanow, Guide, p. 102.
[5] Ivanow, Kalami Pir, p. 64.

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Imams of the Nizarian branch, in which Nizār is listed as an Imam. If we were to assume even a nominal acceptance of the succession through Musta'li it would only carry through the year A.H. 526 when al Ṭaiyib disappeared, for Ḥāfiẓ and his successors were in no way Imams. It seems very possible that the great demonstration of Ḥasan *'alā dhikrihi's salām* was somehow connected with the necessity to square teaching with facts.

Nizarian records are scarce having been largely destroyed in the period of Ḥasan's grandson, or by Hulagu Khan when the fortress of Alamut was taken, but the traditions of the sect indicate that there were three Imams during this period: Hādī, son of Nizār, Mahdī or Muhtadī, and Qāhir.[1] Dr. Syed Mujtaba Ali lists other genealogies with one, two or three generations separating Nizār from *dhikrihi's salām*.[2] There are also several accounts explaining the descent of Ḥasan from Nizār.

(*a*) The original version of Abū Isḥāq's *Haft Bābi* indicates that Mustanṣir had entrusted Nizār himself to Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ. Aside from the fact that this passage appears to have been "corrupted by scribes,"[3] it flies in the face of fact that Nizār stayed in Egypt, and was imprisoned there. Even if accepted this must be connected with the next suggestion.

(*b*) That Nizār entrusted one of his sons to Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ when he was in Egypt or later. He took him along in his travels to the vicinity of Alamut where he was concealed to protect him from the Niẓām al Mulk. He grew and was married. At length in the home of his grandson in the same village, a son was born on the same day that a son was born to the wife of Muḥammad the Grand Master of Alamut. By stealth this descendant of Nizār was introduced into the castle and substituted for Muhammad's son.[4]

(*c*) That this grandson of Nizār had access to Alamut and was father of the child to which the wife of Muhammad gave birth.[5]

(*d*) That Muḥammad ibn Buzurg Umīd

> after a rule of three years, resigned his dignity to a prince of the family of Ismail, called Hussein-ebn-Nasser, who had fled from Syria Roodbar. But Mahomed probably only gave up the name of power, as he constituted himself the vizier of the prince, whom religious considerations had led him to raise to

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 44; Cf., Ivanow, Ismailitica, p. 71.
[2] The Origin of the Khojahs, p. 92.
[3] Defremery, M. C., Historie des Ismaelis, JA.
[4] Defremery, Tarikhi Guzideh, JA, 1849, XIII, p. 40.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 39.

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> the dignity of chief ruler. . . . When Mahomed, the son of Keah, died, Hussein-ebn-Nasser would not allow any successor to be appointed, but usurped the whole power, which he disgraced by his violence and intemperance. . . . he was descended from ancestors who had cut down the rich vineyards of Egypt.[1]

It is possible that there were other descendants of Nizār around like the one seized by al Amir and cruelly put to death, and that this reference is to such an one. Such a transfer would seem to be ethically more creditable, but cuts across all other explanations.

Of real interest for our study of Ismailis in India is the Khoja tradition that Ḥasan *'alā dhikrihi's salām* sent Nūr Satagur as the first Nizāri dā'ī to India.[2]

Muḥammad

The successor to *dhikrihi's salām* was his son, Muḥammad. His first act was to avenge the killing of his father by putting to death Namwer with all his family. Irreligion greatly increased for Muḥammad had been carefully instructed in philosophy and he was able to carry forward the peculiar doctrines inaugurated by his father. He was a diligent student himself and wrote "several treatises on philosophy and jurisprudence which are valued highly even by those who were enemies of his order."[3]

An incident of this reign illustrates well the method by which the Fidais operated. A prominent teacher of religious law at Rai, named Fakhr al dīn al Rāzī, was accused of being pro-Ismailian. To clear himself of such a charge he publicly denounced the organization with the strongest of curses. Word of this reached Muḥammad who knew the powerful influence that Fakhr al dīn had and he sent a Fidā'ī to Rai. Waiting a long time for his opportunity the Fidā'ī finally found him alone, felled him to the ground and standing over him pointed his dagger at his throat. Asked why, and what he was doing, the Fidā'ī told him it was because of his reproaches on the Ismā'īlī sect. Fakhr al dīn swore that he would not do so again. The Fidā'ī appeared to doubt his assurances. Again he made the promise whereupon he was allowed to get up. Then the Fidā'ī revealed

[1] Malcolm, Sir John, The History of Persia, I, pp. 247/248.
[2] Mujtaba Ali, *op. cit.*, p. 39.
[3] Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

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that he had only been ordered to frighten him, not to kill him, and extended an invitation from the Grand Master to Fakhr al dīn to come to Alamut. The teacher could not do this but promised thereafter to speak of Muḥammad with respect. The change in attitude was noticed by his students who asked the reason for it. "I do not wish," said Fakhr al dīn, "to speak evil of men whose proofs are so pointed, and whose demonstrations are so sharp."[1]

Jalāl al dīn Ḥasan

After a long rule, 561/1161 to 607/1211, Muḥammad died, having been poisoned by his son, Jalāl al dīn Ḥasan, who had indicated his disapproval of his father's doctrines during his lifetime, and now sought to restore orthodox practices of Islam soon after his accession. He announced his conversion through letters to the grandpriors in other Ismā'īlī lodges and through rulers to adjoining kingdoms. He brought to Alamut and other fortresses teachers of orthodox religious law, and introduced the regular ceremonies of public worship. In order to prove his sincerity to the people of Kazwin who had their doubts of the new regime, having suffered much from the old, he invited them to send to him representatives who would converse with him about the articles of religion, and he took the opportunity to pronounce curses on his forefathers and he himself threw into the bonfire some of the books of Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ which had been preserved in the library. Schools were established for the teaching of the Quran. The *khalīfa* in Baghdad was sufficiently convinced of his moderation, if not of his orthodoxy, to permit the Governor of Gilan to marry his daughter with Jalāl al dīn, who sent his mother and wife on a pilgrimage to Mecca in A.H. 609. They were treated with honour in all the districts that they passed through. Jalāl al dīn broke another precedent by leaving his fortress to engage in war with the Governor of Iraq. He was away for eighteen months and was everywhere received as an orthodox Muslim. If other governments were pleased with his reign and the changes that it brought about, there were many in the sect who did not look with favour on these policies, and Jalāl al dīn was poisoned in A.H. 618.

[1] *Ibid.*

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NIZARI IMAMS OF ALAMUT

Alā al dīn Muḥammad

Alā al dīn, the son of Jalāl al dīn, was only nine years old when he succeeded to the Imamate. He was weak and controlled by others. All who were suspected of a part in his father's death were cruelly killed. The policy in religious matters was again reversed. The orthodox were dismissed and the principles of Ḥasan *'alā dhikrihi's salām* were again established. Evil of all kinds increased.

> In the early part of his reign, the young prince was bled by an ignorant physician, who took from him too much blood, and his mind and body were ever after enfeebled. From that time he abandoned all care of state and affairs, . . . his miserable life was spent without friends or counsellors, for no one dared approach the imbecile tyrant. . . . the confraternity of the Assassins had neither army, finances, nor administration. The attempted reforms of Hasan III (Jalalu'd din) had in no small degree contributed to the decadence of the order ; his subjects ceased to be enthusiastic Ismaelians ; without being orthodox Mohamedans.[1]

Taylor also relates an incident which serves to throw light on the *da'wat* of this period. While Emir Orkhan, of a neighbouring territory, was engaged in an expedition, a subordinate of his invaded and ravaged territories of the Assassins. An embassy was therefore sent from the Grand Master to demand satisfaction. In reply the haughty Orkhan threw several daggers before the feet of the ambassador. The challenge was accepted by the Assassins and Fidais soon assassinated Orkhan. Instead of attempting to escape they flourished their daggers and went to the palace of the *wazīr*, but they were stoned to death by a frenzied mob before they could find him. The *wazīr* was, however, so terrified as later to receive an ambassador from the Alamut court, who continued some time as his guest. One day he informed the *wazīr* that " there were several Ismailians among his guards, his attendants and his pages." Having received a pledge that no evil would befall them, five men from among the domestic servants stepped forth. One of them was *an Indian by birth*. The *wazīr* swore that in the future he would " be the faithful slave of the Grand Master."[2] Alā al dīn's reign dragged out through thirty-five years, and then he died at the hand of a servant who once had been his favourite.

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 193/194.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 195.

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A son of Alā al dīn who became well known as Shams al dīn Tabrīzī, left Alamut to live in Iran some time before the destruction of Alamut. He lived the life of a *darwesh*, and a *Ṣūfī, and seems to have been the spiritual teacher or murshid of Jalāl al dīn Rūmī.*[1] He was killed in 645/1247. The method by which he met his death is variously given, but he is " considered by the Sufis to be one of the most celebrated martyrs of the sect "[2]

Rukn al dīn Khūrshāh

Rukn al dīn was born when Alā al dīn was only eighteen years of age. He was the last in the line of the Imams of Alamut. He had been on his *masnad* only a few weeks when Hulagu Khan began his campaigns to exterminate the Assassins. Nasir al dīn who held the position of *wazīr* at Alamut, was a most competent man, a native of Ṭūs in Khorasan, and accomplished in mathematics and astronomy. He had had his pride hurt because the *khalīfa*, Musta'sim, had simply cast aside a book that he had written and dedicated to him.[3] Nasīr al dīn wished Rukn al dīn to give him the protection of his assassins but the Grand Master declined to do this. The *wazīr* then, like a wounded Samson, first pulled down the house of Alamut by betraying it into the hands of the Mongol followers of Hulagu Khan and then to complete the revenge co-operated with the Shiite *wazīr* of the Abbasid *khalīfa* Musta'sim in bringing about the destruction of that house. The Mongols massacred all the Ismailians that they could seize. Not only Alamut, but most of the other fortresses were taken, because Hulagu Khan required Rukn al dīn who had been made prisoner, to write an order to his commander in Syria that they too should deliver the Ismailian fortresses to the Mongols. Rukn al dīn also sent his own emissaries with the Mongol ambassadors to effect this change. After he had done this the last of the Grand Masters of Alamut was made prisoner, but was at first treated kindly by Hulagu Khan.[4] He married a Mongol girl and then was sent under escort to Mangu Khan, Hulagu's master. He refused to receive him and ordered

[1] See : Nicholson, R. A., The Divani Shamsi Tabrizi.
[2] *Ibid.*, xix ; and Some Nizari Missionaries, Nizari, IX, May, 1940 ; X, Aug. 1940.
[3] Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 199.
[4] Mujtaba Ali, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

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his execution. Thus the period of political control of the Ismailians was brought to an end in 654/1256, just two years before Baghdad itself was pillaged. Hulagu Khan asked the Abbasid *khalīfa* to join in the war on the Ismailis but he made no effort in this connection. He was given another chance, and still failing to comply, Hulagu Khan marched against Baghdad. The Abbasid empire was brought to an end in A.D. 1258.

When the headquarters of the sect at Alamut was finally taken there was found there a large library as well as an observatory and a collection of scientific instruments. Hulagu Khan had with him a historian-scholar, al Juwaini, as *wazīr*, whom he instructed to look through the library at Alamut and to select any books that would have real value for him before its destruction. In this way many of the facts relating to this sect have been brought to light. Not only in the main centre of Alamut, where the library carried on the traditions of the Fatimids for institutions of learning, but also in districts like Ṭūs from where Nasīr al dīn came, to whom we have just referred, sectarian interest in scholarship and science was found, forming " an island of culture and learning in the midst of reactionary orthodoxy and actual ignorance." The loss of the library of the Ismailians, together with the destruction of its leaders, plunged the sect into a long period that was indeed a " dark age," and it has left scholars of all branches of learning the poorer by depriving them of a heritage that must have had a great deal of real worth.

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CHAPTER XX

THE RELIGION OF THE NIZARIS

OPENING his work, *Kalami Pir*, the author describes the religion of the Ismailis as " the only leading and rightly guided religion."[1] The words are in strict keeping with the attitude of the Nizarian or " eastern " Ismailis. Elsewhere the same author writes :

> The Ismailis of the world are those who have made a final determination to live and act in accordance with Truth, under adverse or favourable circumstances, in hardships or in pleasures, in despair or in joy, doing everything to help one another, making the utmost effort, and patiently bearing every form of exile, (or molestation ?) to which they may be subjected.[2]

Literature of the early Nizārī period is scarce. Parts of Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ's *al Fuṣūl al Arba'a* are quoted by al Shahrastani in his *Kitāb al Milāl wa'l nihāl*. A small tract, *Haft Bābi Bābā Sayyidnā*, but not written by Bābā Sayyidnā, perhaps dates before the fall of Alamut, while another treatise attributed to Naṣīr al dīn Ṭūsī, *Mathib al Muminīn*, the Aim of the Faithful, and *Rauḍat al taslīm* by the same author must date before A.D. 1274, the date of his death. The original version of *Kalami Pir* is assigned to the beginning of the ninth /fifteenth centuries ; while a small *Book on the Recognition of the Imām* was written somewhat more than a century later. These provide the source material for this chapter. The fact that Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ, who was actual founder of the sect, had been a leading *dā'ī* under Imam al Mustanṣir bi'llāh should justify us in assuming that in the year 487 /1094 the doctrines of the eastern Ismailis were about the same as those of the Fatimid line, though it is a well recognized fact that Ismā'īlī doctrines were not uniformly standardized even within the territory of the Fatimid *da'wat*.

Early in the Alamutian period the teaching of Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ had become sufficiently distinct as already to be called the New Preaching. His emphasis on teaching, with teachers who had received their truth from the Imam, early made the name *Ta'limīya* a synonym for his followers. The Sayyidnā is soon said to have

[1] Ivanow, W., Kalami Pir, p. 5.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 39.

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blown the first blast of the trumpet of Resurrection, which forty years later was sounded by the Qaim himself. The Guiding Person of the "rightly guided" Ismailis is the Imam, a descendant in the family of the Prophet, and in the new dispensation initiated by Ḥasan *'alā dhikrihi's salām* on the day of the Great Resurrection, *Qiyāmat al qiyāmat*, he is himself

> the Lord of all things in existence; he is the Lord who is the Absolute Existence; He is all,—there is no existence outside of him; all that is comes from him. He opened the gates of his mercy, making all, by the light of his knowledge, see, hear, speak and live in eternity; praise and glory are due to him for his generosity,—every one who knows has to render it.[1] Our Lord, *Mawlana*, is the Lord of the world,—exalted and extolled be He.[1]
>
> Knowledge of God is the knowledge of the Imam of the time. What is said about God is (also) said about us. . . . We must say that he, the Imam, possesses all the open and hidden properties of God.[2]
>
> The Imam is physically similar to an ordinary mortal man, but his Divine nature cannot be understood. He is the center (Quṭb) of the Universe and performs all the functions of the Deity with regard to ruling the world. He is dressed in the raiments of Divine Unity, to him is granted the eternity of Lordship; Divine names (i.e. attributes) and properties are granted to him, and in these he manifests himself. The lights of that name, and the influence of that attribute become manifest in this way. His word is the word of God the All-high.[3]

In fact, to use the words of Ivanow,

> The Imam, who takes entirely the place of Allah of the orthodox is regarded . . . as eternal, omnipresent, the real Architect and Creator of the world . . . and . . . appears to be an incarnation of a supreme, absolutely abstract, attributeless Deity.[4]

There are four kinds of descendants of the Imam:[5] those who are descended from him in a physical way only, "just as Mast-'Ali"; those who are descended from him in their spiritual nature, as Salmān Fārsī; those descended both physically and spiritually as Imam Ḥasan who is recognized as an Imam *Mustawda'* only; and lastly those who have the physical and spiritual nature and the divinity of the Imam, as Imam Ḥusain,

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 66.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 62.
[3] Ivanow, W., An Ismailitic Work by Nasir al din Tusi, JRAS, 1931, p. 554.
[4] Ivanow, Ismailitica, pp. 10, 11.
[5] Ivanow, An Ismailitic Work, p. 555.

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who alone was able to transmit the essential quality of the Imamate to his descendants.[4]

The knowledge about the Imam is fourfold : knowledge concerning his body, which may be known by an animal ; knowledge about his name, which his enemies may have and divulge ; knowledge about his Imamate in which his followers, " the people of degrees " partake, and finally, knowledge of his real nature which is known only to the *ḥujjat*.[1]

Having promoted the Imam, who until now has been the only one through whom the deity could be known or reached, to be the incarnation of the deity, it becomes necessary now to reach the Imam.

> It would be absurd (to think) that he will leave the ' people of degrees ' without the possibility of recognizing him ; for the purpose of their acquiring this knowledge the world was created. If he should leave them so—which God forbid !—he would be ungenerous. Therefore a moon must exist in this night (of Faith) which would remain perpetually manifest in its real nature.[2]

At the time of his manifestation at the " Resurrection " God was himself revealed to the faithful and seen by them in the Imam. On that day called the millenium of Saturdays, God became His own Proof. But thereafter is a period of six thousand years called the " Night of the Faith," when he can only be recognized through another, except as he may graciously become manifest, " sometimes in the form of a father, sometimes in the form of a son, or a child, or a youth, or an old man."[3] At such times, however, His manifestations are not in His whole glory, so man needs the ' moon ' to reveal Him. The *Ḥujjat* fulfills this need.

Ḥujjat

> The path to him (the Imam) lies through the heart of the *ḥujjat* ;
> The *ḥujjat* knows everything by the direct Divine help to his heart.[4]

Under the Fatimids the term *ḥujjat* had come to be used for the person next to the Imam, who sustained a very close relation to him, such as Salmān had had toward 'Ali. Among the Nizārī Ismailis that position has been lifted immensely higher until the

[1] Ivanow, Ismailitica, pp. 27/28.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 26.
[3] Ivanow, Kalami Pir, p. 67.
[4] Ivanow, Ismailitica, p. 31.

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hujjat's " real essence is the same as that of the Imam from all eternity."[1] By his miraculous nature the *ḥujjat* needs not to receive instruction, he knows ; it becomes his duty to teach.

> And if he do not appear and teach, the ' people of degrees ' will fail in attaining salvation and perfection (in) the next life and therefore there will be no use in the creation of the world.[2]

The *ḥujjat* corresponds with the First Intelligence—and is considered to be *ma'sūm* ;

> One cannot know the Lord except through him, as one cannot know God except through God. Only one man can really know God, and this is the great *ḥujjat*. All other people know Our Lord only through him, as the manifestation and the brilliance of the Reason (*aql*) appears in him only. He is the " Gate of Knowledge ", and the Gate of the glory and mercy of Our Lord. He is the means of knowing the Laws of Reality (ḥaqaiq), and of solving doubts ; he is the governor and the commander of all the true faithful, and whoever disobeys him is placed in Hell, and suffers eternal punishment. The manifestation of the Divine attributes and His exalted properties attains its perfection in the *ḥujjat*. All *ḥujjats* are the same in substance. The Imam, who at the period of his full manifestation is the *Qa'im* of the great Resurrection, is very near to him; he is greater than the *ḥujjat*, through his revealing the mysteries of the Reality (*ḥaqā'iq*).[3]

The *ḥujjat* may carry on the *da'wat* in the absence of the Imam ; he can never be hidden at the same time as the Imam, but in any period of occultation of the Imam the *ḥujjat* is active as a guide to the people.[4]

Later sectarian accounts, as *Kalami Pir*, speak of Bābā Sayyidnā as the *ḥujjat* during the second *Satr*, following Nizār, but early historians never mention him as such. The same author also names 'Abd al lāhi Qaddāh as *ḥujjat* during the first *satr*.[5] Neither name appears in the list of hujjats printed in *Ismailitica*. Working from this period back, sectarian leaders have assigned a *ḥujjat* to every Imam. It is not necessary for the *ḥujjat* to be a relative of the Imam, though this is not forbidden. The position seems not to be inherited. Not all hujjats are humans.

The Paradise of Adam, the Ark of Noah, the vision of Abraham,

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 68.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 32.
[3] Ivanow, Kalami Pir, pp. 88/89.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 63/64.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 63.

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Jesus and Mary, the Mount Sinai of Moses, Gabriel of Muṣṭafa,
—all these are (forms of) the Hujjat.[1]

Some hujjats have been prominent dais, as Ṣadr al dīn. Anybody may rise to the honour; it was held by a woman in one case. The *ḥujjat* of the present Imam, the Agha Khan, died while still a child only six months of age. His duties have been taken over by the Imam.

The list of Hujjats as given in Khojah Vrttant is as follows :[2]

1. Pir Nabi Muhammad Mustafa
2. Pir Imam Hasan
3. Pir Kasim Shah
4. Pir Ahmad Ali
5. Pir Satgur Nur
6. Imam al-Din
7. Muhammad Mansur
8. Ghalib al-Din
9. Abd al-Aziz
10. Mustansir billah
11. Ahmad Hadi
12. Kasim Shah
13. Pir Muhammad
14. Mahmud
15. Muhib al-Din
16. Khalik al-Din
17. Abd al-Mumin
18. Islam al-Din
19. Salih al-Din
20. Shams al-Din
21. Nasir al-Din
22. Sahib al-Din
23. Sadr al-Din
24. Hasan Kabir al-Din
25. Taj al-Din
26. Pir Pandyad-i Jawanmardi
27. Haydar
28. Ala al-Din
29. Kasim Shah
30. Nasr Muhammad
31. Dadu
32. Aga Hasan Shah
33. Muhammad
34. Aga Aziz
35. Mihrab Beg
36. Aga Ali Akbar
37. Aga Ali Asghar
38. Hasan Ali
39. Abd al-Kasim Ali
40. Abu al-Hasan Ali
41. Bibi Fatimat
42. Aga Ali Shah
43. Aga Muhammad Sultan

Unlike Ismā'īlī doctrine under the Fatimids, all Imams are on the same basis of equality and the higher position given 'Ali as an *Asās* vanishes. But 'Ali's place in the regard of Ismailis has in no way decreased. Of 'Ali we read such extravagant statements as that

'Ali was he who still in the womb of his mother,
Told the Prophet in his ears the meaning of the Coran by heart.[3]

Prophet

Of greater importance is the question of the place left the Prophet in this branch of Ismailism. The term *Nātiq* seems to

[1] Ivanow, Ismailitica, p. 33.
[2] Mujtaba Ali, The Origin of the Khojahs, pp. 58/59.
[3] Ivanow, Kalami Pir, p. 62.

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have been discontinued and is never applied to Ḥasan *'alā dhikrihi's salām*. But when the Prophet's era was superseded by the new cycle initiated under Ḥasan, the religion Muḥammad had initiated was cancelled, or was henceforth to find its true interpretation in a newly " revealed *bāṭin* which is the *dīnī qiyāmat* (or simply *qiyāmat*), i.e. religion of the Last Day." This fact is more explicitly expressed in these lines :

> There are seven lawgivers,—six periods of the religious law (shari'at) : Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus and Muhammad the Apostle of God, and one is that of the Qaim, —prostration and glorification be due at his mention.[1]

This is also referred to in *Rauḍat al taslīm* where we are told that the doctrine of the *shari'a* had reached perfection, and needed to be followed by the teaching about *Qiyāmat*.[2] In the *Diwān* of Khāki Khorasānī this change is indirectly implied in " the doctrines about the cancellation of the outward forms of religion."[3]

Other indications of a changed attitude toward the Prophet are found in expressions like these :

> As God said that just as the month of Ramadan is better than a thousand months, so the Imam of the time is greater than a thousand prophets and apostles.
> This means that the light of Prophethood is derived from the light of walayat (i.e. Imamship).[4]
> In the time of every prophet who laid the foundation of the new religion, the Imam manifested himself in his own holy substance. . . . The Prophets had to point him out to the people.[5]
> Wherever in the common teaching of shari'at the Qoran, the Lord Gabriel, Mikael, Israfil and Azrail are spoken of, their real meaning and archetype, as can be explained, is the Hujjat, because in interpretation, *ta'wil*, the meaning of the ' angel ' is the people of unity, i.e. the Hujjat, nobody else. And wherever *da'i* is mentioned, it means the prophet, . . . and as regards (his statement) that he (Muhammad) was receiving revelation from Gabriel, i.e. that he was a *da'i*, he received instruction from Salman. . . .[6]

If these quotations leave doubt about the true regard in which the Prophet is held, other evidence is found in the list of hujjats from the *Khojah Vrttant*, by Sachedina Naujiani, in which

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 98.
[2] Ivanow, An Ismailitic Work, JRAS, 1931, p. 559.
[3] Ivanow, Diwan of Khaki Khorasani, p. 10.
[4] Ivanow, Kalami Pir, p. 69.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 61.
[6] Ivanow, Ismailitica, pp. 32/33.

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Muḥammad is shown as the *Ḥujjat* of Imam 'Ali. This is true also in a second list of hujjats of the Shughnani Ismailis published by Ivanow,[1] who suggests that the *ḥujjat* of 'Ali's time is believed to have been Salmān Fārsī but Muhammad's name was used for fear of persecution.

Cycles and Numbers

Nizārī Ismailism, much more than other branches, is concerned with cycles, great and small. The great cycle is equivalent to 360,000 years. The *Qiyāmat* proclaimed at Alamut by Ḥasan *'alā dhikrihi's salām* marked the last millenium of the first half of the great cycle, or 180,000 years. Smaller cycles are of 7000 years, at the beginning of which a Prophet of a new religion appears. It was at the beginning of the last of these cycles that " the final form of a revealed religion "[2] was vouchsafed.

Also characteristic of this branch is its emphasis on numbers, chiefly seven and twelve. " On examining the Universe and human nature, we see that everything therein consists of units of seven." So the author divides his treatise into seven chapters.

> There are seven heavens, which have seven planets ; there are seven earths, seven seas, seven climes, seven strong winds, seven days of the week,—these make seven times seven. Man has seven parts of the body : two hands, two feet and legs, a face, nose, heart, liver, stomach, lungs, spleen and kidneys. In another way : hair, skin, flesh, bones, veins, fat and blood. Also seven senses of perception : hearing, sight, taste, smell, growth, reasoning, and imagination. Seven forms of instinct : Attraction, touch, digestion, repulsion, direction, growth and procreation, Man comes out of seven substances ; plasm, clay, sperm, clotted blood, foetus, flesh and bones. . . . ' Muhammad the Apostle of God ' is written (in Arabic) with only seven letters. Similarly, the expression " there is no deity but Allah." The Coran is divided into seven parts (qismat) ; there are seven lengthy chapters in it. Seven chapters begin with a prefixed letter *mim* ; there are seven verses (in the first chapter) ; the formula ' in the name of God ' is also composed of seven letters.[3]

One could quote much more on numbers, all of which has mysterious significance—a part of the meaning that members of the hierarchy need to be acquainted with.

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 68/69.
[2] Ivanow, Kalami Pir, pp. xxxv/xxxvi.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 97/98.

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Allegorical interpretations are greatly depended on. Brief examples are

When God says in the Koran (91, 1) : ' Perdition overtake both hands of Abu Lahab,' the hands mean Abu Bakr and 'Umar. Every time God speaks of Pharao and Hamam, He means Abu Bakr and 'Umar again. In the words of the Koran (2, 63) : ' God bids you slaughter a cow ' the cow means 'Aisha. Dead animals, the blood and flesh of swine are figuratively used to signify the horror one should have for Abu Bakr and 'Umar, 'Uthman and Mu'awiya, and the Obligations which God imposes in the Koran metaphorically designate certain persons to whom the believers should be attached, namely 'Ali, Hasan, Husayn and their children.[1]

The Nizārī Hierarchy

Again and again the people of this branch of Ismailism are referred to as " the people of degrees." Nowhere in the sectarian writing of this period do we find a series of initiations in which all members of the community are promoted degree by degree, but it seems to be open to any Ismā'īlī to advance through grades of *dā'ī*. The reference to " people of degrees " would seem to mean those whose teachers are graded in a hierarchy similar to, and yet differing from, that which we found among the western Ismailis. As given in the *Book on the Recognition of the Imam*,[2] the degrees are as follows :

Imam, the manifestation of the Divine Will.
Ḥujjat, the manifestation of Universal Reason.
Da'i, the preacher.
Madhun : akbar, the more informed.
Madhun : asghar, the less informed.
Mustajib, the neophyte, needs instruction, but is not allowed to teach.
' People of opposition,' (adversaries of the religion, who are a manifestation of Universal Body.)

The author of *Rauḍat al taslīm* also states that these degrees are " seven in all,"[3] but groups them in three, namely, pupils, teachers and *ḥujjat*.

[1] Mujtaba Ali, *op. cit.*, p. 32.
[2] Ivanow, Ismailitica, p. 25.
[3] Ivanow, Ismailitic Work, p. 557.

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Religious Duties

The seven pillars, or religious duties of the Nizārī Ismailis are usually listed as follows : *shahādat*, or witness ; *ṭahārat*, or purification ; *namāz*, or prayers ; *rōza*, or fasting ; *zākàt*, or religious tax ; *ḥajj*, or pilgrimage ; and *jihād* or religious war. Two other duties are incumbent on every Ismā'īlī, namely, love for 'Ali and his family, and the recognition of the Imam. Sectarian works dwell at greater length on these than they do on the ' pillars.'

The new era initiated by *dhikrihi's salām* was marked by the lifting of the restrictions and prohibitions of the *sharia* as introduced by the Prophet.

> It means that to those who did not acquire the knowledge (of the Imam) even the things are prohibited which are allowed by the *shari'at*, but to the ' knower ' even that which is prohibited by the orthodox doctrines is permitted, as (drinking) wine, etc.[1]
>
> Our Lord, the King of the Day of Resurrection is the Lord of the time, . . . His rules and laws of the Resurrection are the inner meaning of the prescription of the shari'at. The angels conveying the reward are functionaries of his religion (hududi din). The inhabitants of Paradise are those who became emancipated from the letter of the law (zahir), and who attained the understanding of its inner meaning (batin). In this world their reward is their being relieved from undergoing the obligatory rules imposed by the *shari'at*.[2]

This " inner meaning," which is the only real meaning, since " the people of degrees " have escaped from the *ẓāhir*, is expressed for the several pillars, as follows :

Zakāt

Dr. Syed Mujtaba Ali says that after the recognition of the Imam, *zakāt*, or almsgiving

> is the second most important pillar. . . . although interpreted allegorically as meaning the sanctifying of life by means of the understanding of mankind, in practice it means the giving of one fifth of one's earnings to the Imam, or to one of his deputies.[3]

The author of the *Book on the Recognition of the Imam* devotes a section to this subject in which he says :

[1] Ivanow, Ismailitica, p. 39.
[2] Ivanow, Kalami Pir, p. 91.
[3] Mujtaba Ali, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

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It is to be understood also that the religion of this sect is the true teaching of the Lord (mawlana) and His Hujjat, and therefore the (material) value of the Truth which they both know (must be) everything (one possesses), not only the one tenth (of the income) prescribed by *shari'at*. This one tenth is the price of the *shari'at* which is not worth more. . . . The Truth can be obtained only by those . . . who will sacrifice everything they possess for the sake of Truth. But whoever will keep for himself a trifle shall not acquire the Truth. . . . If he will hand to him all he possesses, keeping nothing for himself, he will become a king and lord of both worlds.[1]

The meaning of the *zakat*, or religious tax, is teaching the religion, and making it reach the faithful in accordance with their capacity to understand it.[2]

Shahādat

The word, *shahādat*, means the " refutation of the false and the affirmation of the Truth " ;[3] or " to know God as God "[4] in accordance with Ismā'īlī doctrine.

Tahārat

Ceremonial purification, or *ṭahārat*

is to pass beyond custom and sunnat.[5]

Its meaning is making oneself clean from the acts which are committed by those who stick only to the outward side, *ẓahir*, of the teaching. Ablution means the returning to the knowledge of the Imam.[6]

Ghusl or bathing is a renewal of the covenant. *Zina* (adultery) . . . is equivalent to divulging the mysteries of religion.[7]

. . . which means becoming free from association with the adversaries.[8]

Namaz

In *Kalami Pir*, *namāz*, or prayer, has the meaning of " reaching the knowledge of the Imam and of the true religion."[9]

The meaning of the chief mosque is the *hujjat*, as all come around him ; other mosques are the teachers. The meaning

[1] Ivanow, Ismailitica, pp. 43/44.
[2] Ivanow, Kalami Pir. p. 92.
[3] Ivanow, Ismailitica, p. 39.
[4] Ivanow, an Ismailitic Work, p. 560.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] Ivanow, Kalami Pir, p. 90.
[7] Mujtaba Ali, *op. cit.*, p. 33.
[8] Ivanow, Kalami Pir, p. 91.
[9] Ivanow, Kalami Pir, pp. 91/92.

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of the *qibla* is the turning of everybody towards the hujjat, which is necessary; but the hujjat turns his face towards the Imam only.[1]

Roza

Fasting means keeping silent as to what the Imam does, not trying to find his faults, and recognizing all his actions as just even if they are blameable and impious.[2]
(Roza) is to observe *taqiya*, and not divulge the religious secrets.[3]

Ḥajj

Pilgrimage denotes going and seeing the Imam and the seven circuits around the Ka'ba are to be devoted to him.[4]
The meaning of *hajj*, or pilgrimage to Ka'ba, is gradually abandoning beliefs which one originally had, and advancing by stages, from *mustajib* to *hujjat*. The uttering of the formula of *labbay-ka* means accepting the preaching of the *da'i*. And putting on the special pilgrim's dress, *ihram*, means getting away from the practice and the society of people who stick only to the letter of the religion, *zahir*.[5]

Jihād

Jihad is to make oneself non-existent in the Substance of God.[6]
. . . is the scrutinizing of the arguments of those who are repugnant and the bringing to naught their sayings by intellectual proofs and decisive arguments.[7]

[1] Ivanow, Kalami Pir, pp. 91/92.
[2] Mujtaba Ali, *op. cit.*, p. 32.
[3] Ivanow, Kalami Pir., p. 92; Ismailitic Work, p. 560.
[4] Mujtaba Ali, *op. cit.*, p. 46.
[5] Ivanow, Kalami Pir, p. 92.
[6] Ivanow, an Ismailitic Work, p. 560.
[7] Mujtaba Ali, *op. cit.*, pp. 32/33.

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CHAPTER XXI

Nizari Imams of the Persian Period

The destruction of the Ismā'īlī fortress at Alamut, followed by seizure of most of the other Ismā'īlī strongholds together with an effort by the Mongols to destroy completely followers of the sect, greatly crippled the Ismā'īlī movement and for a long time it was thought that it had been destroyed, and especially that the family of the Imams had been wiped out. But history has shown that the sect was not destroyed, By *taqīya* and other means many were saved in Persia ; many others fled to Afghanistan, to the Himalayas and to Sind. Through the years, there were oral traditions preserving the names of the Imams, with here and there an opportunity through historical references to check these. More recent study, with new documents, makes it certain that " many of the Imams whose names are preserved by oral tradition really existed."[1] But for a long period they were compelled to live incognito and often under intense persecution.

Ismā'īlī tradition says that Rukn al dīn Khūrshāh, the last of the Imams at Alamut, sensing the danger to his family and the community at Alamut, sent his son, Shams al dīn Muḥammad, then a boy of seven years, to a place of safety with his uncle.[2] From allusions made by the Persian poet, Nizārī Quhistān, it is known that Imam Shams al dīn and Qāsim Shāh lived in Azerbaijan,[3] and that vicinity seems to have been the centre for the Imamate for about two centuries. Shams al din lived as a *zardoz*, an embroiderer, for purpose of concealment, and was commonly known as Muḥammad Zardoz.[4]

Not until the beginning of the nineteenth century do we meet with the Imams in a way to follow them in their historical setting. That period closely agrees with the end of the time when they lived within Persia, and provides a convenient period for this unit in our study. Lists of Imams are given in *Kalami Pir*,[5] in

[1] Ivanow, W., Tombs of Some Persian Ismaili Imams, JBBRAS, 1938, XIV, p. 49.
[2] Ivanow, Guide, p. 106.
[3] Ismaili, Special 'Birthday' Number, No. 16, Historious, p. 17.
[4] Nizari, Aug. 1940, p. 1.
[5] Ivanow, W., p. 44.

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Ismailitica,[1] and from four sources in *The Origin of the Khojahs* by Syed Mujtaba Ali.[2] These vary slightly from each other in the names of the Imams, and also in their number. Our purpose is well served by taking the list as it has been preserved among the Shughnani Ismailis, and published by Ivanow, modified in harmony with the author's articles, *Tombs of Some Persian Ismaili Imams*.[3] In this Shams al dīn is the twenty-eighth Imam. This list for the " Persian " period is as follows :

28. Shams al dīn Muḥammad Shāh
29. Qāsim Shāh
30. Islām Shāh
31. Muḥammad Shāh
32. Mustanṣir bi'llāh II 885/1480
33. 'Abd al salām Shāh
34. Shāh Gharīb Mirza (Mustansir bi'llah III 903/1498)
35. Nūr al dīn Shāh (Bir Dharr 'Ali)
36. Murād Mirza Shāh
37. Dhu'l fiqār 'Ali Shāh (Khalīlu'llah I 1082/1671)
38. Nūr al dahr
39. Khalīlu'llāh II d. 1090/1680
40. Nizār 1134/1722
41. Sayyid 'Ali
42. Ḥasan 'Ali Shāh (or Ḥasan Beg)
43. Qāsim Shāh
44. Abū al Ḥasan 'Ali Shāh
45. Khalīlu'llāh III

Referring to the Imam whom perhaps he knew, Nizārī Quhistān wrote :

> He is the king of the World ; the Crown of Religion.
> He is the Son of Ali, who is the Light of the Eyes of the King of the World.
> He Shamsuddin (Muhammad) is the Father of Spiritualism, and the Sweetest Fruit of the Eternal Garden of Creation.[4]

Imam Shams al dīn was followed by his son, Qāsim Shāh, who also died and was buried at Azerbaijan. Both father and son contributed to the reorganizing of the Ismā'īlī *da'wat* and a number of dais were sent out of Iran. One of these was Pir Shams al dīn Sabzwari. He traced his descent to Imam Ismā'īl through Sayyid Hashamalī ibn Aḥmad Hādī who had gone to Cairo from the Yaman. Hashamalī's mother was Khairan Nisa, who also

[1] Ivanow, pp. 68/69.
[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 54 ff.
[3] Ivanow, *op. cit.*
[4] Some Nizari Missionaries, Nizari, April 1940, p. 2.

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traced her genealogy to Ja'far al Ṣādiq. It was Hashamalī who was entrusted to accompany Shāh Hādī, son of Imam Nizar from Cairo to Alamut. A strong group of these Ismā'īlī Sayyids moved from Cairo to Sabzwar in Iran and Pir Shams al dīn was from that colony. Imam Shah summoned.

> him to his presence and investing him with the *masnad* of a Pir to carry on the Ismaili mission in countries beyond the boundaries of 'Iran. When starting for the work entrusted to him, Pir Shams presented himself in the presence of the holy Imam, kissed his hand and was blessed. When he reached Badakhsan, a large number of people came to see him and being convinced accepted the Ismailian faith and swore allegiance to Imam Kasam Shah, the Lord of the Age. Pir Shams left Badakhsan for Minor Tibet, where he stayed for a few days to carry on his mission. In this way passing through Ghazna, Chinab and Anal Nagri, he travelled by way of Hindu Kush, and the impenetrable Pamirs and reached Kashmir. In all these travels he steadfastly stuck to his work, even though many a time he could not get any food at any price and had to starve. Bearing all these difficulties with an unflinching heart, he at last succeeded in reaching his destination, settled at Kashmir, learned local languages, and thus was able to preach to the people in their own tongues.[1]

Pir Shams al dīn Sabzwarī has been confused with Shams i Tabrīz. This latter was ' spiritual master ' of Jalāl al dīn Rūmī, who wrote a book of poems in his honour, entitled *Diwān of Shams Tabrīz*, which has been edited and translated by R. A. Nicholson. He was the son of 'Alā al dīn Muḥammad of Alamut, and left that fortress before its destruction, and even before Shams al dīn, the son of Rukn al dīn had left. He also attained recognition as a saint, but he apparently did not go to India.[2]

Imam Islām Shāh, son of Imam Qāsim, Shāh, succeeded his father. It was during the period of his Imamate[3] that Tamerlane the Tartar conducted a campaign through Persia during which " he had the merit of extirpating a band of assassins with which the north-western provinces of Persia were infested."[4] and who, without doubt, belonged to the Ismailians. Ismā'īlī tradition informs us that Imam Islām Shāh resided at Shahri Bābak and later at Kahak. Up to a much later date it would seem that the Imams maintained their connection with Azerbaijan, but it is entirely probable that Islām Shāh was under the necessity of

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 1/2.
[2] Some Nizari Missionaries, Nizari, Aug. 1940, p. 2.
[3] " Birthday " Number of Ismaili, No. 16, p. 18.
[4] Malcolm, J., History of Persia, I, p. 295.

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shifting his residence during Tamerlane's purge of the Ismailis.

Imam Islām Shāh sent Pir Ṣadr al dīn to India.[1] He had been trained under Pir Shams al dīn and assumed charge of the communities in Kashmir, Sind and the Punjab. Imam Muḥammad Ibn Islām Shāh maintained contact with the growing Ismā'īlī community under Ṣadr al dīn in India.

For many years Ismailis had to live under conditions of strictest secrecy in Persia. Anjudan, between Qum and Sulṭānabad north-west of Isfahan, and later Kahak, further east, came to be known as residences of the Imams. If the sect was restricted in Persia, it continued to grow in India during the Imamates of Mustanṣir bi'llāh II, 'Abd al Salām Shāh and Shāh Gharīb Mirza. The oldest of three mausoleums at Anjudan contains the grave of Shāh Mustanṣir bi'llāh II. It is an octagonal building with a conical dome. It is known popularly as Shah Qalandar, but no reason for this could be discovered.

> In the middle of the chamber there is a wooden coffer-like 'box', exquisitely carved. Most probably it was painted when new, but now it is in a poor state of repair, the colours are gone, and the letters or ornamentation are obliterated in many places. On the top is written: '(this is) the pure, sacred and luminous grave of Shah Mustansir billah. By the order and care of 'abdu's Salam.' . . . A broad panel at the top edge on all sides is beautifully carved with the text of the chapter Ya-sin from the Coran. At the short side, bottom, there is written: 'wrote this humble slave 'Abdu'l Jalil——in 885 A.H. (1480)'[2]

It seems quite probable that the wooden box, at least, was erected by the son of Imam Mustanṣir in memory of his father, and that the date of his death was shortly before the date given in the inscription.

The grave of Shāh 'Abd al Salām is not known, but behind an old mosque and not very far from the mausoleum of Mustanṣir bi'llāh II is another mausoleum, locally known as "Shah Gharib" set in an old garden.

> The place presents the sight of utter desolation and neglect. Excellent carved marble tombstones, some of which are more than three hundred years old, are lying about unprotected from elements, upset, moved from their original places, many of them broken. The mausoleum itself, an octagonal domed structure of the usual pattern, is in a precarious state.[3]

[1] "Birthday," No. 16, p. 18.
[2] Ivanow, Tombs of Some Persian Ismaili Imams, pp. 53/54. N.B.—For this period, I am greatly indebted to this article.
[3] *Ibid.*

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Within the mausoleum there are five graves besides the central one, and others are outside. Within, tombstones " are fixed in the walls in a standing position " which helps to preserve them. The central grave is covered with a *sandūq* (box) of carved wood.

> The carvings contain the usual *sura* Ya Sin, an invocation of blessings upon the fourteen *ma'sums*, and rhythmically repeating ornament with square svastion-like combination of four words, *' Ali*. In one place it is clearly written : ' this is the box (sanduq) of Shah Mustansir bi'llah, the son of Shah 'Abdu's salam.' Written on the 10th of Muharrum 904.[1]

The name of Gharīb Shāh does not appear anywhere. While it may be that this son of 'Abd al salām was not an Imam, Ivanow is " inclined to accept the identity of Shāh Gharīb and Mustansir III." Here again it is probable that the death of Shāh Gharīb was a little earlier than the date on the box, or 903/1498. In this same mausoleum are other graves with their stones set in the walls. Study of these leads to fuller information of the names of Imams, Nos. 38 and 39, and gives us the date of the death of the latter.[2]

It would seem that the next Imams had moved to Kahak, for near the western end of that village is found the mausoleum of Shāh Nizār. This is within a garden, and the building has several rooms each with several graves in the style of Sufic mausoleums in Persia. The rooms open towards the garden and wooden lattices form the outside wall on that side. "Aqā Nizār " is buried in the main chamber, which is domed.

> It is whitewashed and contains no inscriptions. In some niches in the walls there are different objects often found in similar mausoleums, such as a large *pih suz*, or a sort of ' candle stick ' of monumental dimensions, in which sheep's fat is burnt ; loose leaves of the Coran ; a few white stones ; a looking-glass ; and some legs of a wooden camp cot, obviously of an Indian origin. In the *qibla* wall there are two slabs with inscriptions inset about two feet above the ground. The left one is that of Shah Nizar himself. In a Persian elegy which is carved on it it is stated that he died on—Dhū'l hijja 1134 (1722).[3]

An interesting fact regarding some of the graves in what would seem to be a porch to the building, where apparently servants of Imams were buried, are inscriptions in Khojki type on graves of Indian followers.

[1] *Ibid.*
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 57.

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Such are those of Aqa Nihāl, dated the 19th Safar 1135/29-11-1722; Kāmādiya Muhammad, d. 1209/1794-5; Kāmādiya Datardina Wandani of the Darkhāna jama'at, d. 1217/1803.

This last has been translated by Khoja friends of the author as:

Kamadia Datardina Wandani of Darkhana jama'at reached the presence of the Pir (Imam) on Thavar night (Friday) of the 11th Ashad, 1859, according to the Samvat era, or 1217 Hijra.[1]

In the gardens belonging to the house of the Imam there is a stone platform raised on stone legs like a table, and set in a depression. Local inhabitants tell that Imam Nizār used to sit upon this table, which when the depression was filled with water formed an island, and so receive his guests who were seated amidst flower beds on the other side of the water.[2]

The unsettled political conditions that marked the next century are reflected in the even greater paucity in facts concerning the Imams of this time. Indeed we know almost nothing until we come to the 44th Imam, Abū al Ḥasan 'Ali Shāh, who for a time was governor of Kirmān under the Zend kings. It is thought by some that he accompanied Nādir Shāh to India at the time of his invasion in A.D. 1738. He retired from his position at Kirmān in order to seek retirement at Maḥallāt. Indian tradition places his death about 1194/1780. He is said to be buried in the mausoleum of the famous Sufi Mushtāq 'Ali, where is an anonymous grave said to be his. Sayyid Mushtāq 'Ali was murdered by fanatical mullas because of his heretical utterances in 1204/1790. The grave which is said to be that of Imam Abū al Ḥasan is covered with a greenish marble slab which has no inscription. A little distance from this tomb there is another mausoleum of octagonal shape. An inscription in this seems to record the burial of a daughter of the Imam. Other graves, too, were here, but their condition makes it impossible to identify any. At Shahri Bābak and Sīrjan where Imams are said to have lived there is now no monument. A *Husainīya*,[3] or Imāmbārā, for the observance of Ḥusain's death, and a mosque, which are said to have been constructed in the time of the Imams, are found, though in poor condition. Ivanow considers it possible that some of the Imams were buried at Najaf, for this was a growing custom.

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 58/59.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 59.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 60/61.

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NIZARI IMAMS OF THE PERSIAN PERIOD

At his death Abū al Ḥasan was followed in the Imamate by his son, Khalīlu'llāh, known also by the designation Sayyid Kahaki, because he had established residence at Kahak near Mahallat, also in the district of Qum. His position as head of the Ismailis seems to have had at least the tacit recognition of the Persian sovereign, Fatḥ 'Ali Shāh. Shah Khalīlu'llāh was greatly revered by his followers. The praise of this Imam as given in *Kalami Pir* reads as follows :

> One who riseth by the command of God, the ruler (Qaim) of the present time and of eternity, the source of generosity and mercy, Our Master and Our Lord, one who knows the mysteries of what is open and what is hidden, Our Lord Shah Khalilu'l-lah—prostration and glorification be due at his mention.[1]

Many from India as well as from other countries used to make pilgrimages and to take him rich tribute, in order to receive his benedictions.

> Mirza 'Abd al Razzak who was in touch with Khalilallah during his stay at Yezd tells us that, one day while he was paying a visit to the saint, the latter was busy during the course of the conversation cutting his mails. The Mirza picked up the clippings from the carpet to throw them away. But an Indian of the sect who was in the room seated at a respectful distance prevented him doing so with a meaning gesture. When he left the room the Indian followed him and begged him for the pieces of nail as a most precious possession. These, the Mirza, smiling to himself at the man's superstition, finally gave him. In this way the clippings of his hair, water in which he washed, and similar objects were preserved as precious relics by his sectarians. Instead of paying his servants wages, he often gave them one of his old robes which they cut up and sold at a high price to the pilgrims who came to visit the saint.'[2]

Taking up his temporary residence at Yezd he and a number of his followers were killed in 1817 by a mob inspired by a mulla jealous of his popularity with sectarians and *Ithnā 'Asharīya*. He was buried at Najaf. His death terrified the ruler, Fatḥ 'Ali Shāh, lest he be suspected of complicity for he knew the deadly vengeance of the sect. To clear himself from any suspicions, Fatḥ 'Ali Shāh administered severe punishment to the guilty ones and richly rewarded the young son of the deceased Imam by giving to him the districts of Qum and Mahallāt in addition to his inherited estates. He also publicly recognized him as the

[1] Ivanow, Kalami Pir, p. 45.
[2] Mujtaba Ali, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

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head of the Ismailis with the title of Aghā Khān; and later gave to him one of his daughters in marriage. The young prince governed well. Fortune smiled on him while Fatḥ 'Ali Shāh lived. But with his death in 1834 civil war broke out among the royal princes, and the situation of Agā Ḥasan 'Ali Shāh, the first Aghā Khān, was soon changed, and the Persian period of Nizārī Imams came to its close.

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CHAPTER XXII

THE NIZARI ISMAILIS COME TO INDIA—I

RELATIONS between India and neighbouring countries to the west had been continuous for many centuries, and were often marked by war. At one time Kabul and Kandahar might belong to an Indian rajah, at another Kabul might hóld territory up to Peshawar, or Sind might belong to Persia. Conditions were in flux and well adapted to expanding Ismailism. Ivanow describes the Ismā'īlī population in India as "the most ancient and interesting."[1] Hints of Ismā'īlī infiltration have already been noted when the sons of Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl sought refuge in Kandahar, then a part of Sind.[2] Such refuge India continued to give in multiplied instances. Sind early became a district, or *jazira*, of the Ismā'īlī *da'wat*. During the Imamate of al Mu'izz (d. 315/973) its chief dā'ī was in direct communication with the Imam.

In the century following the death of Ja'far al Ṣādiq in 148/765 the intense propaganda of the Shī'a so weakened the *khalīfa* at Baghdad that his control practically ceased at the fringe of the empire. This was particularly true in the east. At the rise of the Abbasid dynasty Muir tells us that "the Viceroy of Sind and India refused to recognize Hashimite rule."[3] He was defeated after heavy fighting and died of thirst in the desert. In the time of the *khalīfa* al Ma'mūn, Bashur ibn Daud, then in charge of Sind, "revolted and withheld payment of the revenues and prepared to resist the Khalif with open force."[4] Elliot records "the virtual renunciation of political control in Sind"[5] in A.H. 257, when the *khalīfa* Mu'tamid found it necessary to give his attention to the Saffarids who were plotting to seize Iraq and conferred the government of Sind on Ya'qub ibn Lais, a Shia, who already governed most of Persia. Elliot also shows how easily, in these unsettled conditions, tribal feuds that originated in the West

[1] Ivanow, Ismailitica, p. 50, n. 2.
[2] Defremery, M.C., Historie des Ismaeliens de la Perse, JA, ser. 5, p. 364.
[3] Muir, *op. cit.*
[4] E. & D, I, p. 447.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 453.

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broke out in violence among settlers in India, and especially mentions that the element of persecution added acerbity to the feud in Sind.[1]

In the fourth century, *hijra*, Multan was held by the *malāḥida*, a term used by historians for heretics or sectarians including Ismailis and Qarmatians. This was the period when the Qarmatians of Bahrain and the Fatimids were in more or less harmonious relations. It seems quite probable that the *da'wat* in Multan was opened from Bahrain. For many years the *zakāt* from both Bahrain and Multan was sent to the Fatimid Imams. When rivalry broke this harmony between the Qarmatians and the Fatimids, it spread, like ripples in a pool, to Sind, and it is not improbable that the inquiry which the chief *Dā'ī* in Sind addressed to al Mu'izz, reflected just such an incident. Shortly afterwards we find the " Qarmatians " of Sind to be in relation with the Druses.

Haig says that Multan was seized by 'Abd Allāh, the Qarmatian, about 287/900.[2] Ibn Hauqal visited Multan in A.H. 367 and does not mention the Ismailis but does state that the rulers of both Multan and Mansura recognized the authority of the *khalīfa* at Baghdad.[3] Al Maqdasi visited Multan in A.H. 375 and wrote as follows :

> The people of Multan are Shi'as. They shout hayya 'ala kheyri'l-'amal in the call to prayer and call ' takbir ' (Allahu Akbar—God is greater) twice when standing up to pray. . . . Presents are always sent from this place to Egypt.[4]

In Multan the names of the Fatimid *khulafā* were openly recited in the Friday *khuṭba* and the Ismailis were daily claiming an increasing number of converts.[5] It is difficult to think that such a change could have taken place in so short a time as the eight years between these visits.

Al Birūni, writing about A.H. 424, says the rise of the Qarmatians " preceded our time " by " about one hundred years."[2] He also says that " when the Karmatians occupied Multan, Jalam ibn Shaibān, the usurper, broke the idol into pieces and killed its priests."[6] Syed Suleyman Nadvi considers this Jalam ibn Shaibān to be the founder of the Qarmatian dynasty at Multan and since

Ibid., pp. 480/481.
Haig, T. W., Multan, EI.
E & D, I, p. 456.
Nadvi, Suleyman, Muslim Colonies in India, Is. Cul. VIII, p. 609.
Hashimi, Syed, The Arab Rule in Sind, Is. Cul. I, 1927, p. 221.
Alberuni's India, Tr. by Sachau, pp. 116/117.

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it is reasonably certain that the Banū Manbah continued to rule Multan until A.H. 340, it seems to date the accession of Jalam ibn Shaibān as later than A.H. 340 but earlier than 375.[1]

The hundred years mentioned by al Birūni would seem to refer to the period when the Qarmatian-Fatimid *da'wat* under " the chief *dā'ī* Ḥalīm ibn Shaiban "[2] reached the Multan district. In fact, it is very possible that Ḥalīm ibn Shaibān, is the same person as Jalam ibn Shaibān, another example of an Ismā'īlī *dā'ī* rising to power in a State, as al Shi'i in Tunis and Abū Sa'id in Bahrain. The quotations from an epistle by Imam al Mu'izz billāh[3] to the chief *dā'ī* in Sind, which we find in the fifth volume of *'Uyun al akhbār* by Sayyidna Idrīs, support this probability in date and name, but still leave uncertain the exact time when the *dā'ī* succeeded to power.

Nadvi names the members of the Qarmatian dynasty in Multan[4] as

1.	Jalam ibn Shaiban	340/951
2.	Shaikh Ḥamīd	351/962
3.	Shaikh Naṣr ibn Ḥamīd	
4.	Abu al Futūḥ Dāūd	390/999 to 410/1010.

and considers the second, third and fourth to be descendants of Jalam ibn Shaibān. If Jalam Shaibān was the *dā'ī*, it is doubtful if his successors were his sons. Ferishta speaks of " Shaikh Hamid Lodi as the first ruler of Multan,"[5] and the others as his descendants. The Lodi Pathans were leaders in Multan and were there converted to the Qarmatian faith.[6]

Sir H. Elliot rightly points out that the Ismailis did not gain their strength only by an increase in numbers of refugees, but also by conversions.

> That the Karmatians obtained many converts to their infidel opinion is rendered highly probable by the difficulty of accounting for their rapid conquest of Sind by any other supposition. Being merely refugees from Bahrain and al Hassa after their successive defeats, . . . and their subsequent persecution in Arabia, they could scarcely have traversed an inhospitable country, or undertaken a long sea voyage, in sufficient numbers, to appear suddenly with renovated power in Sind. Many Hindu converts doubtless readily joined them, both in the

[1] Nadvi, *op. cit.*, VIII, p. 615, and IX, p. 144.
[2] Ivanow, Ismailis and Qarmatians, JBBRAS, 1940, pp. 74/76.
[3] Ruled, 341/953–365/975.
[4] Nadvi, *op. cit.*, IX, p. 144.
[5] Ferishta, Tr. by Briggs, I, pp. 40/41.
[6] IGI, 1908, XVIII, p. 25.

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hope of expelling their masters, and in the expectation of receiving a portion of their ancient patrimony for themselves, after the long exclusion under which they had groaned.[1]

Multan was the designation not only of a city, but of a province including "one lac and twenty villages." Mas'ūdi, who was in India in 303/915, wrote in 352/943,[2] that Multan extended up to Makran on the west and Mansura in the south. The Amir lived in a military camp outside of the city and went into the city, riding on an elephant, every Friday for prayers. The following accounts of Multan and its people are of interest :

Multan is smaller than Mansurah but is more populous. Fruits, though not many, are cheap. . . . here there are many-storied buildings of 'Sal' wood. No corruption. No liquor drinking. Those who are found guilty of this offence are killed or punished severely. In their transactions of sale and purchase they do not lie ; nor do they weigh less than what ought to be weighed. They treat travellers courteously. The majority of the travellers are Arabs. They drink canal water. There is fertility and opulence. Trade is in a flourishing condition. Sufficient luxury. The Government is just and impartial. In the bazaar will be found no woman who is embellished. Nobody will talk to a woman openly on the road or on the street. The water is fine ; life is lived happily ; there is mirth and courtesy here. Persian is understood. Trade is fairly lucrative. The people are healthy, but the town is dirty. Houses are narrow. The air is warm and dry. The people are wheat coloured and dark. The Hindus and Muslims here dress alike. There is the custom of growing long hair in Multan. In Mansurah, Multan and their suburbs, Arabic and Sindhi are spoken. The inhabitants of Makran speak Persian and Makrani. 'Kurtas' (loose and long garments) are worn but the merchants, like the people of 'Iraq and Persia, use shirts and sheets. The coinage of Multan has been fashioned after the Fatimid coinage, but most *Qanhriyyat* are current.[3]

Multan was noted for its temple

dedicated to the sun, and therefore called *Aditya*. It was of wood and covered with red Cordovan leather ; in its two eyes were two red rubies. It is said to have been made in the last Kritayuga.[4]

There was plenty of gold and silver in this temple. A'ud (wood aloes) worth two hundred gold mohurs was sent here

[1] E & D, I, pp. 491/492.
[2] Nadvi, *op. cit.*, VIII, p. 610.
[3] Nadvi, *op. cit.*, IX, p. 147.
[4] Alberuni's India, p. 116.

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> for burning, but priests sold it away to Arab traders. The statue was very precious. The eyes were two very precious stones ; on the head was a gold crown.[1]

The temple was very old and it was the chief source of revenue in the city, for it was visited by pilgrims from great distances. For this reason Muḥammad ibn Qāsim did not destroy it, but to show his contempt for the idol he hung a piece of " cow's flesh " (Sachau)—(Nadvi translates, " a cow-bone ")—on it. Permitting the temple to remain, Muḥammad erected a mosque on another site. Through the years, the temple continued to be a source of profit to the Amir of Multan. Istakhrī, with a sense of humour, says the Amir " spends some money upon the priests and saves some for himself."[2] It was also a source of protection, for whenever a Hindu Rajah thought to drive out the Muslims, the Amir needed only to threaten the destruction of the idol to make him drop the idea. This temple continued in use until the time of Jalam ibn Shaibān, when the idol was destroyed and the brick temple was converted into a mosque. The mosque of Muhammad ibn Qasim was " shut from hatred against anything that had been done under the dynasty of the Caliphs of the house of Umayya."[3]

Mansura was built on an island in the Indus river not far from the sea coast. Conveniently located for commerce, it soon became the capital of Sind. The name of the Abbasid *khalīfa* was read in the *khuṭba* when Ibn Ḥauqal visited the town, but in 375 Maqdisi reported that although the same family ruled at Mansura " the influence of the Shī'a Daylami which ruled over Persia was extending through Buluchistan to Sind." Sometimes the name of this Dailami, 'Adad al daula was read in the *khutba* according to Muqaddasi. Of Mansura he writes :

> It is like Damascus. The houses are made of wood and clay. The Jami' mosque is made of bricks and stone and is large. . . . It is supported by pillars of ' sal ' wood. It is situated in the centre of the market. There are four gates to the town.[4]

In 391/1002 Maḥmūd of Ghaznī entered India on the first of his many military expeditions. He was actuated by several motives. There was the desire for wealth and there was the zeal of the iconoclast to destroy temples and idols and to establish

[1] Nadvi, S., Religious Relations between Arabia and India from Maqdisi's Safar Nama, Is. Cul., VIII, p. 126.
[2] Nadvi, S., Muslim Colonies in India, Is. Cul., VIII, p. 609.
[3] Alberuni by Sachau, p. 117.
[4] Nadvi, *op. cit.*, IX, p. 154.

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the true faith of Islam. On at least two occasions he came in the spirit of a crusader against the Muslim sectarians who held Multan. To understand this attitude of the orthodox Muslim toward these *Malāḥida*, we may note these statements of how they are to be treated :

> 'Abd al Karim Ibn Muhammad said ' The putting to death of the Karameteh, universally, is a necessary thing, and their being treated without discrimination, a statute, because they are veritably apostate unbelievers, and their influence to corrupt the religion of Islam is greater than any other, and the injury which they do is the greatest of injuries.'
> Abu'l Kasim 'Abd al Rahman Ibn El Husein Es Saffar said, ' with regard to the like of these, namely the Karameteh, whenever we cause them to be found out, the obligation rests upon the Sultan, in the first instance, and upon the doctors of the law of the Muslims, in the second instance, to set it down to their account to put them to death, and to eradicate them, not admitting, on their part, either conversion or apology.[1]

The reason for this very strong attitude was explained by one in this way :

> because they are not truly converted, and make a show on their part, of that which they make a show of, only after the manner of piety, for the safety of themselves, and their property and their families, and their children or something thereof.[2]

This would seem to mean that since by *taqīya* these sectarians could conceal their position, and the orthodox be deceived, there must be no chance given them for deceiving ; and for the sectarian it means that since death is their certain lot if caught, it is incumbent on them to conceal their true faith to save themselves.

Maḥmūd of Ghaznī came near Multan in his third expedition but passed by its borders. But when he learned of Abū al Futūḥ Dāūd and his corruptions of faith, and that he had given his subjects an invitation to accept the same heresies and many had done so, he was moved to action. Al 'Utbi in *Tarīkh Yaminī* thus describes Maḥmūd's impulse :

> The Sultan zealous for the Muhammadan religion, thought it a shame to allow him to retain his government while he practised such wickedness and disobedience, and he beseeched the assistance of a gracious God in bringing him to repentance, and attacking him with that design in view. He then issued

[1] Salisbury, E. E., JAOS, II, pp. 286/287.
[2] *Ibid.*

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orders for the assembling of armies from among the Musulmans for the purpose of joining him in this holy expedition those on whom God had set his seal and selected for the performance of good deeds, and obtaining either victory or martyrdom.[1]

Maḥmūd's personal attitude is also shown in another incident. He had a *wazīr* named Hasnak who was considered by some to be a "Qarmatian" because he had received a *khil'at*, or robe of honour from the Egyptian *khalīfa*. The *khalīfa* in Baghdad heard of this and was incensed against the *wazīr* and urged almost to insistence that Maḥmūd execute him. On this Maḥmūd broke forth:

Tell the doting old khalif, that out of regard to the Abbasids I have meddled with all the world. I am hunting for the Karmatians and whenever one is found he is impaled. If it were proved that Hasnak is a Karmatian, the Commander of the Faithful would soon see what had happened to him. But I have brought him up and he is to me as my sons and my brothers. If he is a Karmatian so am I.[2]

The first act of Mas'ūd, one of Maḥmūd's sons, on the death of his father, was to have Hasnak seized and suspended from a gibbet!

In 396/1005 Maḥmūd led his campaigns against Abu al Fatḥ Dāūd, who, unable to receive help that he had expected from Anandpal of Lahore, could not resist Maḥmūd, who took Multan and levied an annual tribute of 20,000 dirhams "with which to respite their sins."[3] In 401/1010 Dāūd revolted and Maḥmūd again took Multan, this time conquering it more completely. He arrested many of the heretics, "killed some, chopped off the hands of some, and punished them very severely." Dāūd was taken prisoner and kept in the fort at Ghori. Maḥmūd reopened the mosque which had been erected by Muḥammad ibn Qāsim for Friday worship and that which Shaibān had erected on the site of the old temple was left to decay. In Al Biruni's time it was "only a barn floor, where branches of hinna are bound together."

While he was returning from the sack of Somnath in A.H. 716, Maḥmūd turned through the desert and took Mansura and

as it is expressly stated that he then placed a Muhammadan prince on the throne we may safely infer that the previous occupant had rejected that faith and was therefore a Karmatian, who having usurped the government from the Habbari

[1] E & D, II, p. 31.
[2] *Ibid.*, II, p. 93.
[3] E & D, II, p. 32.

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> dynasty had thus, after a duration of three centuries, effected the extinction of the Arab dominion in Sind.[1]

Maḥmūd of Ghaznī had done what he could to crush the Ismailis and to leave them powerless, but he had failed completely to measure their indivual loyalty to their tenets and the vitality of the community. Sir Henry Elliot brings to our attention a letter which proves how soon the Ismailis were again in power. It is from an unexpected source—the sacred book of the Druses! Sir Henry refers to it in connection with his effort to assign the Sumra dynasty of rulers in Sind to their proper place in history, "one of the most difficult problems with which we have to deal in the history of Muhammadan India." This letter would indicate that

> before they apostatized from their ancestral faith to Islam, the Sumras had intermediately adopted the tenets of the Karmatian heresy.[2]

It is

> an epistle of Muktana Bahau'd din, the chief apostle of Hamza, the principal compiler of the Druse writings, addressed in the year 423 H. (1032 A.D.), to the Unitarians of Multan and Hindustan in general, and to Shaikh Ibn Sumar Raja Bal in particular. Here the name is purely Indian and the patronymic can be no other than our Sumra. That some of the tribe, including the chiefs, had affiliated themselves to the Karmatians is more probable than the other alternative suggested by M. Reinaud (memoire sur l'Inde p. 256) that certain Arabs had adopted indigenous denominations. It seems quite evident from this curious coincidence in names that the party particularly addressed was a Sumra; that this Sumra was a Karmatian, successor of a member of the same schism, who bore in the time of Mahmud a Muhammadan name (Abu'l Fath Daud), and whose son was probably the younger Daud mentioned in the letter; and that the Karmatians of the valley of the Indus were in relation and correspondence, not only with those of Persia and Arabia, but with the Druses; who adored Hakim the Fatimide Khalif of Egypt as a God.[3]

It was the same Sumras who, twenty years after the date of the above letter, during the weak government of Sulṭān 'Abd al Rashīd ibn Maḥmūd Ghaznawi (d. A.H. 444), became rulers of Sind, displacing the Ghaznawis. Suleyman Nadvi[4] agrees with Elliot that the Sumras were Ismailis, and that they and the rulers

[1] E & D, I, p. 459.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 491.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Op. cit.*, II, p. 159.

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of Multan were followers of the same faith. He further concludes that the Shaikh ibn Sumar Raja Bal was the leader of the Ismailis at this time, and that Dāūd the younger who is referred to was a son of Abū al Fatḥ Dāūd who had been imprisoned with his father and released by Ma'sūd, whom the people of Multan wanted to make their Amir. The letter would seem to be a plea to Ibn Sumar Raja Bal to incite his dais to lead a campaign to win the son back to the faith. It is clear from the letter that if Abū al Fatḥ Dāūd's son was a contemporary of Sulṭān Ma'sūd, then Sumar was contemporary of Mahmūd who had died in A.H. 421.

In this letter the writer calls

> Raja Bal the true descendant of Bothro and Hondelhela, and mentions many other members of his family, some of whom have Arab, and others Indian names, eulogising their faith and virtues. 'Oh, illustrious Raja Bal, arouse your family, the Unitarians, and bring back Daud the younger into the true religion; for Masud only delivered him from prison and bondage, that you might accomplish the ministry with which you are charged, against 'Abdulla, his nephew, and against all the inhabitants of Multan, so that the disciples of the doctrine of holiness and of the unity, might be distinguished from the party of bewilderment, contradiction, ingenuity and rebellion.[1]

This leaves still the question of who the Sumras were originally. Once they were thought to have been Rajput converts to Islam, but recent researches of M. Abdul Halim Sharar of Lucknow have led him to the conclusion that they were Jewish converts to Islam who, coming to Sind from Iraq, adopted the Qarmatian articles of faith and held power over the province of Sind until the middle of the eighth century A.H.[2] During the time of Muḥammad Shāh Tughlaq the Sumras came in conflict with the Sulṭān at Delhi when a Mughal named Taghi revolted against Muḥammad Shāh and took refuge with the Sumras. Not long after this the last ruler of the Sumras, named Hamīr, was murdered by a member of the Samah tribe.[3]

Ibn Batuta writes of the Sumras that

> the inhabitants are called Samirah who settled down here, as historians have written, at a time when Sind was conquered during the time of Hajjaj. The Samirah do not dine with anybody, nor can anybody see them dining. Nor do they intermarry with others.[4]

[1] E & D, I, p. 491.
[2] Hashimi, *op. cit.*, Is. Cul., I, pp. 221/222.
[3] Nadvi, *op. cit.*, IX, pp. 424, 434.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 161/162.

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Of their religious and other customs Nadvi writes :

> It is evident that they were not Rajputs ; but this also is evident, that they adopted some particular non-Islamic customs with regard to eating, drinking and marriage. Nevertheless they did not call themselves Hindus but thought themselves to be Muwahhids (believers in the unity of God) and considered it an insult and a degradation to be ruled over by a *Kafir*. So decidedly they were not Hindus. Such a motley religion was that of the Qirmitis and the Ismailis who made a juxtaposition of Islam with local customs and beliefs.[1]

Multan, too, apparently came again under the Ismailis. Ferishta says that Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Ghaznavī, after taking Ajudhan (now called Puttun) and Rudpal in 472/1079, marched to Dera

> (a common name in the vicinity of Mooltan for a town) the inhabitants of which came originally from Khorasan, and were banished thither with their families by Afrasiab, for frequent rebellions. Here they had formed themselves into a small dependent state ; and being cut off from intercourse with their neighbours, by a belt of mountains nearly impassable, had preserved their ancient customs and rites, by not intermarrying with any other people. . . . As soon as the rains abated he summoned the town to surrender and acknowledge the faith.[2]

This the community refused to do. After prolonged fighting and much slaughter, the town was taken and much wealth was found. A hundred thousand were " carried in bonds to Ghizny." We cannot be quite sure that these were Nizarians, but the demand to " acknowledge the faith " suggests they were of some Ismā'īlī branch, and the author of *Tabakāt i Nāsirī* says that in 571/1175 Sulṭān Mu'izz al dīn, leader of the Ghoris, " led his forces to Multan and delivered that place from the Karmatians."[3]

We continue to find through two centuries occasional references to the *malāhida*, or heretics. Sometimes they are called Qarmatians, sometimes *malāhida*. There is a similarity in the charges and language in which they are condemned, to the descriptions of the Qarmatians of 'Iraq. We cannot be sure how much truth there is as a basis for the descriptions ; or how much is " reputation " of evil sects in general. Always the historian describes them with bitter venom, and no punishment is too severe.

In A.D. 1206 'Alā al dīn Muḥammad Shāh Khwarazm had fallen

[1] *Ibid.*
[2] Ferishta, Tr. Briggs, I, pp. 139/140.
[3] E & D, II, p. 293.

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suddenly upon the Khokars in the north Punjab, and going then to Lahore he dismissed his troops temporarily, preparatory to another punitive campaign. Returning then towards Ghaznī in March, he was assassinated.

> The actual assassins appear to have been fanatical Shiahs of the heretical Ismaili sect. A few years before this time these heretics had again established themselves in Khorasan, where they are still numerous, and held possession of that province until Muhammad crushed them in 1199, and restored his brother's authority. A number of these bound themselves by an oath to slay the persecutor of their faith and found on this occasion their opportunity.[1]

This incident is clearly an act of the Alamut assassins which occurred during the time of Muḥammad ibn *dhikrihi's salām* and illustrates how far these restraining influences of Alamut had reached.

Again, in 1236, in the reign of Altamsh, we glimpse the activities of these groups. Altamsh had just returned from Malwa, where he had led an expedition, when

> a serious religious disturbance broke out at Delhi, where a large community of fanatics of the Ismaili sect had gradually established itself. They may have been irritated by persecution but they appear to have believed that if they could compass the king's death they might be able to establish their own faith as the state religion. Accordingly they made an attack at a mosque where he attended Friday prayers. The attempt failed, the group of Ismaili attackers were annihilated, and such adherents of the sect as remained were diligently sought out and were put to death.[2] . . .
> Notwithstanding the vindictive zeal with which Iltumish had pursued Ismailian and Carmathian heretics, some appear to have escaped death, and Delhi now harboured large numbers of these turbulent fanatics, who had assembled from various provinces of the Kingdom and were excited by the harangues of a Turk named Nur-ud-din, a zealous preacher and proselytizer.[3]

Early in the next reign, that of Sulṭāna Riḍīa, or Riḍīa Begum in 1237, the only time that the Muhammadan throne at Delhi was occupied by a woman,

> The Karmatians and heretics of Hindustan, being seduced by a person with some pretensions of learning who was called

[1] Cambridge History of India, III, p. 48.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 55/56.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 59.

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Nur Turk, flocked to him in large numbers from all parts of Hindustan : such as Guzerat, Sind, the environs of the capital and the banks of the Jumna and Ganges. They assembled in Delhi, and making a compact of fidelity to each other, they, at the instigation of this Nur Turk, declared open hostility against the people of Islam. When Nur preached, the rabble used to gather round him. He used to say that the Learned Sunnis and their flocks were Nasibis, and to call them Marjis. (Note : Nasibis are enemies of 'Ali, and the marjis or ' procrastinators ' are a sect who think faith sufficient and works unnecessary.) He endeavoured also, to inflame the minds of the common people against the wise men who followed the doctrines of Abu Hanifa and Shafi. On a day appointed, on Friday the 6th of the month Rajab, A.H. 634, the whole body of heretics and Karmatians, to the number of 1,000 men armed with swords, shields, arrows and other weapons, came in two parties to the Jama Masjid of Delhi. . . . On both sides they attacked the Musulmans. Many of the faithful were slain by the sword and many were trampled to death by the crowd. When a cry arose from the people in consequence of this outrage, the brave officers of the government, . . . fully armed with mail, cuirass, and helmet, with spears, shields and other weapons, gathered on all sides and rode into the Masjid. They plied their swords on the heretics and the Karmatians ; and the Musulmans who had gone (for refuge) to the top of the mosque hurled down stones and bricks until every heretic and Karmatian was sent to hell, and the riot was quelled. Thanks be to God for the favour and glory he has given to the faith.[1]

Titus and others have suggested that Nūr Turk referred to in this account is the same as Nūr Satagur who is said to have been the first Nizāri missionary to India.[2]

There are many traces of Shiite refugees in Sind : the names of places as Lakk 'alavi and Mut'alavi, named after two prominent families of Lakhy'ari and Mata'ri Sayyids who are the attendants at the shrine of the saint Lal Shahban of Sihwan ; and also the large number of Sayyids in Sind and the eastern provinces, " who trace their first settlements to Thatta, Bhakkar and other places in the valley of the Indus."[3]

One of the Baluch clans preserves in its present title, Karmati, record of the Ismā'īlī group with which at some early time its progenitors were connected.[4]

[1] E & D, II, pp. 335/336.
[2] Titus, M. T., Indian Islam, p. 101.
[3] E & D, I, p. 480.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 492.

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CHAPTER XXIII

The Nizari Ismailis Come to India, II

From its beginning, Ismailism has depended on an organized programme of teaching for its strength. Not through armies, but through selected and well-trained dais it spread. We have traced the vigorous life of the sect in India from its earliest period when Qarmatians and Fatimids worked together. In the development of the Bohra community we have seen something of the growth of Ismailism in India under the Fatimid *da'wat* and its continuation in the Yamanite. We now trace its development in a third period, through the missionary efforts under Nizāri Ismā'īlī Imams.

Pīr Nūr Satagur

Khoja tradition credits Ḥasan *'alā dhikrihi's salām* with sending the first Nizāri missionary to India, in the person of Nūr al dīn, who took the name of Nūr Satagur, the name meaning teacher of true light. There is common consent that he was an early missionary, but there is great difference of opinion as to when he reached India. If the Khoja tradition is trustworthy, he must have left Alamut shortly before 561/1166, reaching Patan in Gujarat from Dailam soon after. Arnold says that he reached Gujarat during the reign of Sidhraj Jai Sing, A.D. 1094–1143.[1] Following Khoja history, F. L. Faridi puts the arrival of Nūr Satagur almost a century later, in the reign of Bhima II, 1179–1242.[2] The chronogram on the tomb of Nūr Satagur at Navsari, Gujarat, gives the date of his death as 487/1094.[3] In a history that he has written the guardian of the shrine, a descendant of the saint, makes the claim that he was in fact Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl ibn Ja'far, the seventh Imam of the Ismailis. This claim would mean that at the date of his death as recorded on his tomb he would have been over three hundred years old! Ivanow concludes:

[1] Arnold, T. W., The Preaching of Islam, p. 275.
[2] Faridi, F. L., Gazetteer, p. 26.
[3] Ivanow, W., The Sect of Imam Shah in Gujarat, JBBRAS, XII, 1936, p. 60.

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It must be frankly admitted that we know absolutely nothing about the date at which the Pir settled or died at Nawsari, who he was, and what religion he really preached.[1]

There seems to be no reason, however, to conclude that he was not an Ismā'īlī *dā'ī*. He was killed by one of his closest disciples while he was absorbed in *samadhi*,[2] or contemplation. His adoption of this practice, his taking of a Hindu name, although he told his followers that his real name was Sa'adat, and his general method of work, support the claim that he was a *dā'ī*. Khoja sources claim that he converted the Kanbis, Kharwas and Koris who belonged to the low castes of Gujarat.[3] His first conversions followed the showing of miracles. The account of these is to the effect that he started to enter a temple when the priest forbade him, because he was a Muslim. To this the Pir replied that the gods should do their own talking. The priest answered that they were stone idols and could not talk. Then the Pīr ordered the idols to dance and immediately they all commenced to dance and sing. The amazed priest called the king. There followed a contest between the Pīr and some Pandits in which the Pīr won again. Then all " were purified by the Satyapanth at his hands."[4] In the same way in which Nūr Satagur had succeeded in converting Gujarat about the year A.D. 1200, one of his successors named Ramde, who was a Tuwar Rajput, spread the Ismā'īlī faith in Cutch and Kathiawar.

It is not surprising to find missionary activity in a new and successful movement. It is cause for wonder, however, that a sect that was thought to have been exterminated by some of the most ruthless armies that history has known, and in a country where other enemies were ready to destroy those who escaped the armies, should have been able in less than a generation to renew its propaganda and to send missionaries to India.

There are occasional references to Ismailis who escaped the scourge of persecution finding refuge in India, and it is probable that the total of their numbers was considerable. It would be impossible to estimate the influence that these refugees had in introducing Ismailism into India, but we can be sure that it was very great. The 'Ali Ilahis, to whom we refer later, probably first came as refugees.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 59.
[2] Faridi, *op. cit.*, p. 38.
[3] Najm al Ghani Khan, Madhahib al Islam, p. 335.
[4] Mow, B. M., How Islam Came to Gujarat, N & N, Dec. 1929.

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THE NIZARI ISMAILIS COME TO INDIA—II

Pīr Shams al Dīn

The second missionary to be sent by a Nizāri Imam was Pīr Shams al din, who is number twenty in the *Hujjat* list of the Khojas. Of his call and commission as accepted by the Ismailis, we have written in the account of Qāsim Shāh, the second among the Persian Imams. This would place him, at the latest, in the early part of the fourteenth century A.D., instead of at the close of the fifteenth century as has been done by Ferishta whose account for Kashmir we followed. He gives the date of Shams al dīn's arrival in Kashmir as 1496, and says that he was called Chhote, and that he was a disciple of Nūr Satagur.[1] The *Satveni-ji Vel* represents Shams al dīn as Imam Shams al dīn Muḥammad, son of Rukn al dīn, the last Imam of Alamut. He is said to have left the Imamate to his son Qāsim Shāh in 710/1310 while he himself went as a Pīr, but " latest research by Ismā'īlī scholars and Orientalists shows that the Imam never came to India."[2]

The Ismā'īlī account of Shams al dīn's work represents him to have journeyed via Badakhshan through Little Tibet to Kashmir. Accounts of his work show the characteristic Ismā'īlī method of establishing contact with people by associating as one of them even in their religious practices, and then leading them on to new teaching.[3] Thus, one day Pīr Shams' path took him by Anal Nagri at the time the Hindus were observing their Dasehra festival with a " Garba " dance. Pīr Shams at once joined them and then commenced to sing his own Garba compositions.

> He composed twenty-eight Garba songs with the spirit of Islam underlying them and he was able to impress upon the minds of the dancers the true beauties of his faith ; who became Muslims and swore allegiance to Imam Kassam Shah, as Imam of the Age.[3]

From Kashmir, Pīr Shams went to Uch, about eighty miles south of Multan. Here for a while he stayed at a mosque. His most famous miracle was the restoration to life of the child of a noble in Uch.

> The Pir said : ' In the name of Allah thou that art dead arise ! ' The corpse did not stir. Then Shamsu'd din said : ' In the name of Shams thou that art dead arise ! ' and the boy drew up and stretched out his hands and feet, yawned, sneezed, and was one of the living.[4]

[1] Faridi, *op. cit.*, p. 40.
[2] Nizari, Aug. 1940, p. 1.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 2/3.
[4] Faridi, *op. cit.*, p. 39, n. 3.

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At the time of regular prayers the Pīr, with others, was in line, but when the mind of the leader wandered Pīr Shams sat down and refused to follow. Others in the congregation rebuked the Pīr for so doing. But the Pīr gave his explanation and on inquiry the people found that it was true. They then considered him to be the most worthy of leading them in prayers and asked him to be their leader. He consented. Miracles are related as occurring while he was performing this duty, such for example, as that when he prostrated himself in *sijdah* " the whole mosque also lay prostrate."[1]

The Ismailis credit Pīr Shams with bringing the Roshanias into the fold of the Ismailis " by enlightening them with the sublime ideals of Islam." The Roshanias feared the sun during the day and so " passed the day in prayers and other rituals," but at night, " when the sun went to sleep—and could not see what they did," they " passed the time in debauchery and sins."[2] Pīr Shams' converts came to be called Shamsis. Many are said to be found in the Punjab to-day.

The Shamsis are most numerous in Multan, Gujranwala, Rawalpindi, Dera Ghazi Khan and in the districts adjacent to these. They are said to number twenty to twenty-five thousand. They recognize the Agha Khan as their leader, and honour and venerate him as an incarnation. Their religious books they call, as a group, the *Atharv Vedh*. They do not claim to be Hindus but personal as well as family and caste names are like those of Hindus. Their religious and social customs are also mixed : they bury their dead, and for marriage they use the Muhammadan term *nikāḥ*. They have in their ceremony of initiation to the sect a sprinkling of water in the face which is reminiscent of the water mixed with Kerbala clay which the Khojas use. They eat only meat which has been killed for sacrifice. They associate the light of Muḥammad with the light of the Imamate and declare that these are the same as the light of Satagur and also of Brahma. And, just as the world can never be without an Imam, so they believe it can never be without the light of Satagur and Brahma for any length of time. It was this, they say, to which Shri Krishna Ji Maharaj had reference when he told Arjun that if the world was ever without his activity it would dissolve. The Shamsis resemble the Khojas also in having jama'at khanas and in contributing one-eighth of their income to the Agha Khan. This

[1] Nizari, May 1940, pp. 2/3.
[2] Nizari, July 1940, p. 4.

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is done through their officers, known as Mukhis and Kamadias.[1]

Since 1911 (written in 1924) the Shamsis have been said to be largely discarding their cover of Hinduism because the Arya Samajhists have been writing against the Agha Khan in their papers and this has offended the Shamsis.[2] Writing of this group in 1891, Maclagan describes them as Hindus.[3] Doubtless many of them are, but their identity is probably well concealed by *taqīya*. In that year, only nine persons in all were shown as Shamsis, Shamsi Shias and Pīr Mīr Agha Khanis in the Punjab. There is a small sect in the north of the North-West Frontier Province which there is reason to believe is "closely connected with the Khojas of Bombay," but whose members reverence the Bhagavad Gita, worship no idols, and are also devoted to Pīr Shams al dīn and give alms in his name.[4]

Pīr Shams al dīn married Ḥāfiẓa Jamāl and they had two sons, Nasīr al dīn and Aḥmad Zindabād.[5] In Egypt he is said to be called Shams Maghribī and in India Shams Irāqī. He died in in 757/1356. His grave is at Uch within a fine mausoleum. The descendants of the saint who keep the shrine consider themselves to be *Ithnā 'Asharīya*.[6]

If the Ismā'īlī tradition and date here given for Shams al dīn should prove correct, it is quite possible that the outbreaks recorded by Sulṭān Firoz Shāh (A.D. 1351–1388) in *Futuhat i Firoz Shahi* are somehow connected with this period of missionary activity. He first describes activity by a "sect of Shias, also called Rawafiz," who produced books and treatises and gave lectures. The books he "burnt in public" and punished the leaders, "and so by the grace of God the influence of this sect was entirely suppressed." Yet a little later another sect of heretics sought to "seduce the people into heresy and schism." He killed the leaders, imprisoned and banished the rest "so that their abominable practices were put an end to."[7]

Pīr Shams was succeeded by his son Nasīr al dīn and he in turn by his son Shihāb al dīn. Both are regarded as Pirs, but information concerning them is lacking.[8]

[1] *Ibid.*
[2] Najm al Ghani Khan, *op. cit.*, pp. 355/357.
[3] CIR, 1891, Punjab, p. 77.
[4] CIR, 1911, N.W.F.P., XIII, p. 74.
[5] Nizari, July 1940, p. 4.
[6] Ivanow, *op. cit.*, p. 33.
[7] Firoz Shah, Futuhat i Firoz Shahi, E & D, III, pp. 377/378.
[8] Ivanow, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

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THE SHI'A OF INDIA

Pīr Ṣadr al Dīn

The most influential of Nizārī missionaries, and the one most directly connected with the development of the Khoja sect was Ṣadr al dīn. He was sent to India by Imam Islām Shāh, the son of Imam Qāsim Shāh, and was appointed the head of the Khojas of Kashmir, the Punjab and Sind in A.D. 1430.[1] Like the Pirs who had preceded him, he also took a Hindu name, Sahadev, the name of the fifth Pandava. He was also sometimes called Harichand.[2] Ṣadr al dīn was instrumental in winning the Lohanas to the Ismā'īlī faith. Tribal legends represent them as descendants of Lava, the elder son of Rama, who was the founder of the Rathors to which the Lohanas belonged. On their conversion, they received the title of Khwaja, meaning Lord, from which the name Khoja has been derived. For the converts of this Pīr the full meaning of the term is said to be " the honourable or worshiped converts."[4] It was Ṣadr al dīn, too, who introduced the Khoja religious lodge, or *jama'at khāna*. From the lodge at Kotda, Sind, he started the first *jholī*, or tithe-gathering wallet " on its rounds from the Himalayas to the Vindhyan range." This gives us some idea of the extensive territory in which the sect was working. It was also this same Pīr who had the idea of organizing a pilgrimage of all the Indian Khojas to the Imam in Persia.[3]

Important as these things were in the building of the Khoja community—the name, the tithe for the Imam, the meeting-house or *jama'at khana*, and the pilgrimage—much more significant was the Pir's method of working. Like other Ismā'īlī missionaries, he made himself well acquainted with the beliefs of the Hindus among whom he worked, and then declared the tenth incarnation of Vishnu whom they still expected, had already appeared in Iraq, in the person of 'Ali, and he, the Pīr, was his deputy. The praises of Muḥammad, 'Ali and God were sung in bhajans, and expressed in Sufic language. Through dais and mukhis, the teaching was spread through every district. Secretly, the Pīr also established " temples of 'Ali,"[4] probably these *jama'at khanas*, in which the preachers and converts would meet, and where the dais taught the unity of God and all learned to sing praises to him and to 'Ali. In some of these " temples " (*mandir*) he placed pictures of 'Ali so that the Hindus might be completely

[1] Faridi, *op. cit.*, p. 38, n. 7.
[2] Mujtaba Ali, The Origin of the Khojas, p. 99, n. 14.
[3] Faridi, *op. cit.*, p. 48.
[4] Najm al Ghani Khan, *op. cit.*, pp. 349/350.

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weaned from their idols and become real followers of 'Ali. When this had proceeded to a point that "lakhs" of people had joined the secret faith, he gradually taught them other truths.

He wrote the *Das Avatar*, which is still a very important religious book of the Khojas. The concessions made to a non-Islamic faith to win followers was never more clearly shown than in this book. The nine incarnations of Vishnu are accepted, and 'Ali is represented as the tenth, each incarnation being treated in a chapter. It is the last chapter which receives the greatest attention in the Khoja assemblies to-day. Other correlations that are made in the system of Ṣadr al dīn are: Brahma with Muḥammad, Adam with Shiva, and 'Ali with Vishnu.[1] Islām Shāh, the Imam of that time, became an incarnation of 'Ali, Nūr Satagur of Brahma and Ṣadr al dīn himself of Balaram. The five Imams of Alamut (Ḥasan 'alā dhikrihi's salām through Rukn al dīn) were correlated with the five Pandavas. The Ghat Panth Mantra, or prayer and ritual of the Shaktipanthis was also accepted.[2] Ṣadr al dīn adopted the name of Satpanth for this new faith. The Khojas repeat the name of their Pīr Ṣadr al dīn with great devotion and reverence.

Pīr Ṣadr al dīn died at Uch. His tomb at Trindah Gorej is some fifteen miles from Uch in the Bahawalpur State;[3] the nearest village is Jetpur. A fair is held annually on his *'urs*. He is locally spoken of as Ḥajī Ṣadr Shāh; the tomb is without any inscription.[4]

Pīr Ḥasan Kabīr al Dīn

The next leader, or Pīr, of the Khojas was the eldest son of Ṣadr al dīn named Sayyid Ḥasan Kabīr al dīn. Nothing is recorded of his work. In the *Satveni* the date of his death is given as 853/1449 which Ivanow considers as not improbable. He is buried at a place a mile distant from Uch.

He was followed by his brother Tāj al dīn who is recognized as a Pīr by the Khojas, but not by the Imamshahis. Nothing reliable is known about him. He is buried in the village Shahturel or Jun, in Sind. The date of his death is given as 872/1467.[5]

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 334.
[2] Enthoven, R. E., T. & C, Bombay, p. 222; Kujtaba Ali, *op. cit.*, p. 42; Menant, D., Les Khodjas du Guzarte, Revue du Monde Musulman, XII, pp. 224/225.
[3] CIR. 1911, Punjab, XVII, p. 150.
[4] Ivanow, *op. cit.*, p. 34.
[5] *Ibid.*

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Imām Shāh

The full name of Imām Shāh, who followed Tāj al dīn, was Imām al dīn 'Abd al Raḥīm ibn Ḥasan. Accounts seem to agree that Imām Shāh was young when his father died, but there is so much divergence in dates that his age is not definitely known. The usual account, as given in the *Gazetteer* and also by D. Menant, tells us that

> Imamshah was not well received by the Sindh Khojahs and had to withdraw to Persia, where, after visiting the Imam at Kekht, he returned to India in A.D. 1452. Disgusted with his Sindh followers he turned his footsteps towards Gujarat and was favourably received by Mahmud Begada (1459–1511). Imamu'd din founded a new sect in Gujarat with opinions differing in some minor points from the doctrines of the Ismailia faith, . . . He was excommunicated by 'Abd al Salam the son of Islam Shah. In Gujarat after the death of Pir Imamu'd din active proselyting ceased.[1]

In his study of the Imamshahis, Ivanow gets another story, made very likely from legends, in which we are told that young Imam al dīn was not at home when his father died, but through miraculous information he arrived at the time of the funeral procession. He had seventeen brothers, and demanded from them his " share." When they objected " the hand of the dead saint came out of the bier, with a rosary and a piece of sugar " and gave it to the Imam, and a voice directed him to go to Persia and get his share from his uncle.[2] Pirs were so regularly succeeded by their youngest sons that Ivanow considers it easy to infer that the practice had become firmly established. He went to Persia and returned with the *Ni'mat*. He then went to Gujarat and settled at Pirana. After some time all of his brothers died. The Imam, hearing of this, sent a letter to Imām Shāh, who went to Persia. He asked the Imam for permission to see Paradise, and this being granted

> he goes there, and sees many ancient saints, both Hindu and Muhammadan. With his own grandfather, Pir Sadru'd din, he even has a long and instructive interview . . . a peculiar way of explaining eschatalogical beliefs, and partly, in the form of prophecies of the great saint interviewed after death, to popularise the general plans and intentions of the missionary activities of the sect. But it may be noted that all this the faithful take quite literally.[3]

[1] Faridi, *op. cit.*, pp. 40/41 ; Menant, *op. cit.*
[2] Ivanow, *op. cit.*, p. 40.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 42.

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THE NIZARI ISMAILIS COME TO INDIA—II

There is difficulty in knowing what is fact and what is legend. After his full study Ivanow is convinced that Imām Shāh "remained faithful to the original religion,"[1] and that the split with Ismailism came after his death. It seems also to be true that Imām Shāh went to Persia and then returned to Gujarat. His account of his journey to Paradise which is entitled the *Janaza*, is still recognized by the Khojas as one of their religious books. Another version is called *Jannatpurī*. Imam Shāh died in 915/1512 at Pirana, near the village Giramtna, some nine miles from Ahmadabad, where his grave is enshrined in a mausoleum erected to him by his followers and descendants. It is a place of pilgrimage.

Pīr Nūr Muḥammad

Imām Shāh was followed by his son Nūr Muḥammad, or Nar Muḥammad. It was during his Pirship that the division came which heretofore had been assigned to the time of his father.[2] Those who adhered to Nūr Muḥammad are known as Imamshahis, or Satpanthis, because many of them had been converted under Imām Shāh who opened the work in Gujarat, and his name served as the link to hold the community together. We do not know how long after the death of Imām Shāh the division occurred, but it came about in this way. A convert named Kheta was the head of some eighteen thousand converted Hindus. It was his duty to collect the tithe and to remit it to the head of the community in Sind for forwarding to the Imam. This practice had continued into the time of Pīr Nūr Muḥammad, which is the chief reason for believing that Imām Shāh had not severed the connection of his followers with the Imam.

Nūr Muḥammad instructed Kheta to give to him all funds that he collected and not to send them to Sind. This he refused to do. There was dispute, then excommunication of Kheta and the split had started. Those who sided with Kheta continued the Khoja line in Gujarat and Kathiawar; the others became Imamshahis. They thus accepted for all practical purposes their Pīr as an Imam, by their willingness to have him receive the *dassondh*. This action effectively severed their connection with the Ismā'īlī Imams. The Imamshahis recognize the Ismā'īlī Imams up to the time of Nūr Muḥammad, and then seem to consider that the

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 20, 43.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 43.

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hidden Imam of the *Ithnā 'Asharīya* will judge at the end of the world. Followers of the sect now go so far as to deny any connection with Ismailism, saying that they have been Twelvers from the beginning. But in this history is against them.[1]

Apparently Nūr Muḥammad realized the meaning of his demand that the tithe be paid to him. Miracles now came to be attributed to him and also a story began to be circulated that when Pīr Imām Shāh visited the Imam in Persia the latter promised that at his death he would be incarnated in one of Imām Shāh's sons. This is also suggested in some of the Pīr's *gnans*, or writings. The story is not included in some histories "probably because it sounded too un-Islamic. But it is widely known now and every follower of Imam Shah believes in it."[2]

The Hindus who had become converted under Pīr Imām Shāh had continued to be members of their old castes. This, together with the fact that the early Pīrs had not insisted on the religious duties of Islam, such as *namāz*, had made conversion easier, but emptied it of much of its meaning ; the hold of Hinduism continued strong. Under leadership the Khoja group responded and has grown stronger in Islamic practices, but the Imamshahis have drifted back and become

> a kind of inferior Hindus, and very doubtful Muslims. Anyhow orthodox Muslims do not regard them as Muslims, and orthodox Hindus do not regard them as Hindus.[3]

The Imamshahis accept the Imams to the time of the split, although certain of them are omitted in their lists. All of the *Panjtan* are regarded as divine, and Fāṭima is identified with some of the goddesses. The Quran is accepted but allegorically interpreted, their term for *ta'wīl* being *slankar*, but many of their mukhis being from the Hindus, do not know the Arabic alphabet. A book of religious precepts entitled *Siksha Patri*, written by Imām Shāh, is recognized by all his followers.[4] Regular *namāz* is never performed. On the other hand, many Hindu practices are retained. The tithe is still paid to kakas for distribution among the descendants of Imām Shāh. Litigation regarding these funds is becoming more frequent. Imamshahis cremate their dead and bury their bones. Those who are able to afford it arrange for the burial of bones in the compound of the shrine. The kakas are buried without cremation.

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 43/44.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 44.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 45 ff.
[4] EI, Imamshah, II, p. 474.

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THE NIZARI ISMAILIS COME TO INDIA—II

> The chief thing that is the real mover and creative element in the religious life of an Imam-Shahi is the strange fascination, the majestic pathos, and beauty of its sacred religious poetry, the *gnans*. Its mystical appeal equals, if not exceeds, that exercised by the Coran on Arabic speaking peoples. They are the centre around which the religious life of the sect revolves.[1]

We have dealt at this length with the Imamshahis because of their historical connection with the Khojas, but their further very interesting, but irregular, religious history lies beyond Shiism. Prominent among the Imamshahi community are the Matra Kanbis of Kaira and north of Surat ; the Shaikdasis of Broach Ahmadabad, and the Momnas of Gujarat. To some degree these are known as Shias ; many call themselves Shias ; but all have a strong admixture of Hindu beliefs and practices.[2]

Pīr Dādū

For nearly two hundred years there had been rather continuous missionary activity in India, loosely directed, but for a part of the time led by strong men sent out by Ismā'īlī Imams and receiving some degree of supervision from them. With the death of Imām Shāh, aggressive propaganda practically ceased. A large section remained leaderless ; another section was led away from Ismā'īlī connections. By the middle of the sixteenth century the retrograde movement had become so pronounced that the Imam summoned a man named Dāūd, or Dādū, a scion of a prominent family in Sind, to Persia and invested him with the authority of a Pīr and sent him back to take charge of the work in India. The date of his investiture has been remembered as a holiday called Shah's 'Id. Pīr Dādū at first made his headquarters in Sind and then about 1549 moved to Jamnagar, and later still to Bhuj. In Jamnagar he received an allotment of land for a number of Khoja families. One of the gates that was erected in the wall around the capital city is still known as Dāūd's gate. Like his predecessors, Dāūd performed miracles. The one for which he is particularly remembered is when he made it rain at Bhuj. His following was much increased as a result.[3]

[1] Ivanow, *op. cit.*, p. 68.
[2] Faridi, F. L., Gazetteer, pp. 66/69, 76/77.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 41.

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THE SHI'A OF INDIA

Pīr Pandyād i Jawān Mardi

After Dāūd had been succeeded by his son Ṣādiq, a group of Kapura Lohanas, with other Khojas, carried to the Imam at Kahak the tithe wallet with the offerings of his Indian followers. Recognizing their need of a leader, the Imam wrote in Persian and gave to them a book called the *Pandyadi Jawan Mardi* (Maxims of Fortitude) saying, " This is your Pir, do what this book says,"[1] Since then this book has been held in highest veneration and has been given the place of the 26th *Ḥujjat* among the Khojas. It has also been translated into Gujarati and Sindi. After Ṣādiq the office of Pīr was discontinued for a season, the Imam being represented by a deputy known as a vakil. Ṣādiq's grandson moved from Bhuj to Halar in Kathiawar because of family dissensions. The nature of the trouble is not clear, but the sect seems to be adrift, sharing the lack of organization which characterized the followers of the Imam in Persia at this same period.

'Ali Ilāhis

Colebrooke, writing *On the Origin and Peculiar Tenets of Certain Muhamedan Sects*, speaks of the 'Ali Ilāhis as " numerous " in India, but gives no locality where they are found, except to mention the dominions of the Niẓām al Mulk in the Deccan.[2] We read also of a heretical sect of Persians whose headquarters were in Kirmanshah " who fled from Persia to escape persecution and who were called 'Ali Ilahis."[3] They were also known as Cham-kannis, Para Chamkannis, or Chakmannis.

The name of the sect reveals its chief tenet to be a belief in the divinity of 'Ali. Browne tells us that they were a " numerous sect in Persia."[4] An Indian convert from the Khojas says that some of the 'Ali Ilāhis connected the incarnation of 'Ali with the nine incarnations of Vishnu, some called themselves Sufis, while others for fear of persecution " kept their faith a profound secret."[5] We do not find references to the sect in India to-day under that name, but Ivanow says that in parts of Afghanistan

[1] Colebrooke, Asiatic Researches, VII, pp. 339/340 ; Cf. ERE and EI, 'Ali Ilahis.
[2] Colebrooke, Asiatic Researches, VII, pp. 339–40 ; Cf. ERE and EI, 'Ali Ilahis.
[3] CIR, Punjab, 1911, XVII, p. 149.
[4] Browne, Lit. Hist., II, p. 194.
[5] Bawa ,S. B., From Islam to Christ, Indian Witness, Dec. 21, 1927.

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the Nizaris are still known as 'Ali Ilāhis, but a community different from the 'Ali Ilahis of Persia and Kurdistan, who are " most probably spiritual descendants of the Qarmatians."[1] Rose, telling of how Akbar sent Shaikhs and Faqirs who seemed heretical to Kandahar in exchange for horses, adds that the " Ilahis " met with " similar treatment."[2]

The sect teaches that celestial spirits have " frequently appeared in palpable shapes," and that God was manifest in 'Ali whom they worship as 'Ali Allāh. For this manifestation, they use both the word *jism* (body) and *libas* (garment).[3] They believe in metempsychosis and so refrain from eating meat. When 'Ali left the world, he is said to have returned to the sun, which is the same as himself, and so they call it also 'Ali Allāh. They reject the Quran as it is now, some calling it a forgery. They accept the transmigration of the divine from one Imam to the next, and they consider Muḥammad the Prophet to have been sent by 'Ali Allāh. It was only when God saw the insufficiency of the Prophet that " he himself assumed the human form for the purpose of assisting the prophet."[4]

In their customs also there is much in common. They do not have mosques, they do not recognize ceremonial uncleanness ; they eat pork and drink wine ; they do not permit polygamy ; men and women dance together at wedding festivals ; divorce is not permitted and they have a peculiar cosmogony.[5]

[1] Ivanow, Guide, p. 9.
[2] Rose, T & C, Punjab, p. 502.
[3] Colebrooke, *op. cit.*
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] EI, 'Ali Ilahi.

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CHAPTER XXIV

THE AGHA KHANS

Agha Ḥasan 'Alī Shāh

THE first Agha Khan, Agha Ḥasan 'Alī Shāh, came to India in 1840. While Shāh Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh lived, Persia had afforded the Agha Khan a friendly centre for his activities. Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh, so runs the account,[1] had designated as his successor a grandson, Muḥammad Shāh. Loyal to his long-time friend, the Agha Khan threw his strength on the side of the prince whom Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh had named. He won the throne, and in the government which he formed he gave to the Agha Khan the position of Commander-in-Chief. For some years things went well. But about 1838 friction developed with a prime minister who presumed to support the request of a " low-bred " person for the daughter of the Agha Khan in marriage. To this request the Agha Khan not only gave a sharp refusal, but on further unjust demands by the Prime minister, he raised the standard of revolt in Kirman. There came a truce, but the Prime Minister broke his promise and had the Agha Khan arrested. He was released by the Shah, but as friction continued he renewed his rebellion. Soon after, he left for Sind, via Afghanistan. He was enthusiastically welcomed by the Talpur Amirs of Sind who with other followers had long been his zealous supporters.

As Imam he had doubtless been visited by many followers who made pilgrimages to his *darkhāna*, or residence. As early as 1829 he had been brought into a controversy with his community in Bombay. A group resident there resisted the compulsory payment of the tithe to the Imam. He sent to them as his personal representative, Mīrzā 'Abd al Qāsim and his own maternal grandmother, Marie Bibi, " an energetic lady who harangued 'the Khojahs in the *Jama'at Khana* and defended the rights of her grandson,"[2] to try to collect the dues. Among other efforts which they made, they instituted a case in the supreme court in Bombay

[1] Dumasia, Naoraji M., A Brief History of the Aga Khan, pp. 70 ff.
[2] Mujtaba Ali, The Origin of the Khojahs, p. 45.

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to get a decree enforcing these payments. The Agha Khan denied that the suit was instituted with his permission, but a power of attorney sealed with his seal states :

> that as in Bombay some reprobate persons had laid the foundations of disobedience, it is necessray that he (Mirza 'Abdul) do bring an action in the English Court.[1]

The suit was filed but not pressed, and it was finally dropped in July 1830. The recusants were then summoned before the *Jama'at* of Bombay and, since they persisted in their refusal to pay the amounts demanded of them, Ḥabīb Ibrāhīm and his partisans were " outcasted by the whole Khojah Jamat of Bombay in Jamat Khana assembled."[2] The Agha Khan's representatives took back with them two hundred and fifty thousand francs ! The excommunicated members were readmitted, on payment of arrears of contributions due from them and a promise to pay future demands of the Imam. The " opposition " party came to be called *Bārbhai* because the number of excommunicated members was twelve.

The arrival of the Agha Khan in Sind coincided with the military campaigns that resulted in the annexation of that province to India. Being gifted with the talents of a military leader, the Agha Khan was now in his element. With funds received from a levy of the " Bukhus " under which a good Khoja gives one tenth of all he possesses to his spiritual head, the Agha Khan raised and maintained a body of cavalry which rendered valuable service to the British in their campaign in Sind. Nor was his religious position unknown to the military leaders. Writing in 1844, Sir Charles Napier said :

> The old Persian Prince (Agha Khan) is my great crony here ; living not under my care, but paid by me 2,000 pounds sterling a year. He is a god, his income immense. . . . He is clever, a brave man. I speak truly when saying that his followers do not refuse him anything he asks. . . . He could kill me if he pleased. He has only to say the word and one of his people can do the job in a twinkling and go straight to heaven for the same.[3]

Apparently the Aga Khan did not at first plan to stay in India when he came, for we read that

> his position and proceedings were suspicious, and he was watched and even prevented from quitting Scinde, where he

[1] Bombay High Court Reports, 12, 1866, April, p. 348.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] Dumasia, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

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designed to make some intriguing religious excursion to Baghdad.[1]

For his services, " rendered at imminent and personal risk and danger," he was rewarded by the British with the hereditary title of " His Highness."[2]

The Agha Khan did make an attempt to establish himself in Persia from the Bunpore District bordering Mekran, where his brother was in control, but opposition from Persia was too strong. He then gave up these ideas and went to live in Bombay. Here again Persian influence was sufficiently strong to have him move to Calcutta, from whence he returned to Bombay in 1848 after the death of the Persian ruler, Muḥammad 'Ali Shāh. Except for a brief period at Bangalore his headquarters, or *darkhāna*, have remained at Bombay. In May 1861, the following descriptions of him appeared in a Bombay paper on different days :

> Many of our local readers must be familiar with the person of the old man, in his tall black sheepskin hat, and loose green tunic. He is slightly lame, wears a thin black glossy beard, and is perhaps the most assiduous frequenter of the race course in the island. This man is no other than His Highness Aga Khan, a Persian refugee nobleman and high priest of the Khojahs.[3]
>
> . . . known at clubs, a patron of amusements, a giver and taker of odds on the race-course, not unacquainted with the mysteries of the betting books, combining to a singular extent the fanatical ferocity of a prophet chief with the polished amenities of a frequenter of London drawing-rooms.[3]

On the religious side his duties have been described as follows :

> In Bombay the Agha Khan occasionally presided at the Jamat Khana or Council Hall of the Khojas (which, together with other landed properties was purchased out of the offerings made to the Agha Khan whom they called the ' Pir Salamut ') on the more sacred anniversaries of the Mahomedan calendar. On the occasion of the Mohurrum he attended with some state to hear the solemn recitation by Shiah Moolas of the legend of the great Martyrdom. On stated days he led the ' nimaz ' or prayer in the Jamat Khana and presided over the distribution of water mixed with the holy dust of Kerbella. Every week, on Saturday, when in Bombay, he held a durbar, when all the members of the Khoja community attended, in order to have the honour of kissing his hand and receiving his blessings.[4]

[1] Goolamali, K., An Appeal to Mr. Ali Solomon Khan, p. 8.
[2] Dumasia, *op. cit.*, p. 82.
[3] Goolamali, *op. cit.*, pp. 17 and 45.
[4] Dumasia, *op. cit.*, pp. 85/86.

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Besides these duties, which could not have taken much of his time, the Agha Khan had to contend with the disorganization which marked the community after years without real leadership, and in clarifying its tenets both for those in and for those out of the sect. In doing this he was always in conflict with the progressive element of the Khoja community that wished to reform the sect. They considered his pretensions to divinity to be blasphemous ; they resented his demand for payment of *Dassondh* and other offerings ; they were repelled by his arrogant attitude toward the community and his insistence on controlling both the property of the community and to a great degree the lives of his followers.

For ten years the members of the *Bārbhai* party who had leanings toward the Sunni or *Ithnā 'Asharīya*, remained with the sect, but resentment and bitterness burned within. It broke out anew in 1847 in a legal case initiated by two sisters for a share in their father's estate under the provision of the Quran and against the provisions of the will of the deceased. The defendants averred that all of the parties to the suit were Khojas and that within that group the custom was that " females are not entitled to any share of their father's property at his decease," except only that unmarried daughters are

> entitled to maintenance out of the estate, and to a sum sufficient to defray the expenses of their marriage according to their condition in life.[1]

The court ruled that the custom of the Khojas should prevail even though it was not a valid Muhammadan custom. The effect of this decision of Sir Erskine Perry was to establish the Khojas as a distinct group with their own customs. In this case, the Agha Khan's party was on the side of the right of women to inherit, the *Bārbhai* taking their position on the prevailing custom of the community.[2] Because of their unwillingness to accept the Imam's leadership the *Bārbhai* party was again excommunicated and they built their own *jama'at khāna* in Bombay, but in Mahim they used the upper apartment of the *jama'at khāna* while the Agha Khan's party continued to use the lower apartment.

It was apparently in this upper apartment on the last day of Muḥarram that seven of the *Bārbhai* party were attacked and four were killed by members of the other party. The suspicions

[1] Perry, Sir Erskine, The Indian Decisions, (old series) IV, pp. 707/708.
[2] BHCR, p. 349.

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of the seceders that the Agha Khan had himself been an accomplice in this affair were strengthened, when after the trial of nineteen men and the execution of four, the bodies of the latter were given to their party for burial and the Agha Khan wrote " texts of the Koran upon the corpses with his own hands " and had them

> buried in the most sacred place of burial in Bombay, that is behind the Mausoleum of Peer Mohammad Shah, an honour so great, that no estimable man of the Khojah caste within the last century has been deemed worthy of it.[1]

The effect of this was described in 1862 by a writer who says that this has

> induced the ignorant portion of the Sheeah sect of the Khojahs to recognise them as Peers, or Saints ; . . . the Aga . . . has visited their graves and has prayed over them—a thing he has never done at any other grave,—and has, by all sorts of Mummeries, endeavoured to render holy, in the eyes and minds of the ignorant, the place of burial of these miscreants. Votaries visit their graves, in consequence of his acts, with offerings ; the tombs are kept up and whitewashed from the funds of the Jumat Khana, and everything is done and sanctioned by the Aga that can tend to lead his poor deluded followers into the belief that the spirits of these men are with the Saints in Heaven, and that their reception there is their reward for the murders they committed and for which they died before the gallows.[2]

Friction between the *Bārbhai* party and the Agha Khan's party continued to grow. The latter clashed with the Barbhais in : (a) their insistence on establishing and maintaining schools ; (b) their desire to erect a mosque ; (c) " their opposition to allow their women to visit the Aga at his residence " ; (d) " their opposition to allow their women to call upon the Aga when visiting the Jumat Khana with any of his followers " ; (e) their insistence on annual elections of the Mukhi and Kamadia ; (f) their insistence that these officers should render an account of their handling of money and property.[3]

In 1862, in pursuance of his policy of drawing more clearly the line between those followers who considered themselves to be Sunnis and others, the Agha Khan circulated papers on which he asked signatures of all who wished openly to pursue the tenets of the sect in accordance with the established Imami Ismā'īlī

[1] Goolamali, *op. cit.*, pp. 11, 46/47.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 41/42.

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faith, with particular reference to " marriage, ablutions, and funeral ceremonies " and recognition of the Imam, or Agha Khan, as the supreme head of the sect.[1] The statement concluded: " now he who may be willing to obey my order shall write his name in this book that I may know him."[2] That these were sent to communities so widely scattered as Bombay and Sind, Kathiawar and Zanzibar, suggests either that the split in the community was wider than it seemed, or that the move was directed primarily to accomplish a more effective organization of the scattered Khoja community. But the reformist group, which spoke of themselves as Sunni Khojas, considered it as a clever trap to be able to identify them, for the Shiite Khojas would sign their names. Almost unanimously the community supported their Imam. In Mowa, Kathiwar, a group of twenty said, " We are Shias already, why should we sign this writing ? "[3] and thus took their position with the Bombay opposition in refusing to give up the established custom of solemnizing a marriage before a Sunni Qāḍī.

Matters came to a head in 1866 when certain members of the community in Bombay brought a suit against the Agha Khan and others :

(a) for an account of all property belonging to or held in trust for the community, and all funds coming to the hands of the treasurer (mukhi) and accountant (kamadiya) ;

(b) for a declaration that the property of the community was held in trust and ought to be applied to charitable, religious and public uses for the sole benefit of the Khojas, and that no person who had ceased to be a member of the community, " in particular, no person professing Shia opinions in matters of religion was entitled to any share or interest in them " ;

(c) for a scheme for the periodical and regular elections of mukhis and kamadiyas ;

(d) for an injunction restraining the Agha Khan from interfering in the management of the trust property, or in the election and appointment of the mukhis or kamadiyas, from excommunicating any Khojas from the community or depriving them of the privileges of membership, from celebrating marriages in the *jama'at khāna*, and from demanding or receiving any oblation, cess or offering in his capacity as spiritual leader.[4]

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 30.
[2] BHCR, p. 349.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 350.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 323/324.

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The case was heard by Sir Joseph Arnould. A great deal of information concerning the sect was elicited. Such Sunni practices as the plaintiffs presented were explained by the defendants as being in accordance with the Shiite principle of *taqīya*. The judgment was rendered in favour of the Agha Khan on all points. It is interesting to read that at the time of rendering his judgment all the property of the *Jama'at* stood in the name of the *Jama'at*,[1] and only after that date was a change made putting it in the name of the Agha Khan. The present *Bara Jama'at Khāna* in Dongri, Bombay, was erected in 1920 at a cost of more than four lakhs of rupees. A tablet in the hall records the names of those who have contributed five thousand rupees or more, and the tablet clearly states that the building belongs solely to H.H. the Agha Khan and is under his absolute control.

Ḥasan 'Ali Shāh spent the last years of his life "in the peaceable enjoyment of his large income and hereditary honours"[2] at Poona, Bombay, or Bangalore. It is pleasing to learn that before his death there was a reconciliation between him and the ruling family in Persia. He died in 1881 in April at Bombay, and was buried there at a place known as Hasanabad in Mazagon, where a mausoleum enshrines the tomb. This is a building, beautiful in proportions and chaste in design and of lovely materials. The single room is surmounted by a large dome beneath the centre of which is the grave of Ḥasan 'Ali Shāh, also called Ḥusain al Ḥusaini. On three sides of the room are large double-doors, of simple design and said to be of silver. In a corner of the room are small pictures of him and two of his relatives who are buried on either side of him. On the side without a door there are large pictures of the first Agha Khan and of Imam 'Ali. Beneath and in front of these an oil flame is kept permanently burning. There is also a large picture of the present Agha Khan at eight years of age when he became Imam. Set in small windows, also on this side of the room, are other framed pictures of the present Agha Khan, at the top of one of which we read "The Divine Father," and also a picture of his son, Prince Aly Khan, who has the title Valiahad and is the heir apparent.

The first Agha Khan left three sons: Agha 'Ali Shah, who succeeded him, Agha Jangi Shah and Agha Akbar Shah.

[1] Goolamali, *op. cit.*, p. 64.
[2] Dumasia, N. M., The Aga Khan and His Ancestors, p. 59.

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THE AGHA KHANS

Agha 'Ali Shah

Born and raised in Persia, Agha 'Ali Shah developed while there a liking for hunting parties. He had spent some time with his mother at Baghdad and Kerbala. He was married three times. His third wife was a granddaughter of Shāh Fatḥ 'Ali Shāh and a daughter of Niẓām al daula, a nobleman in the Persian court. After their marriage they lived for a time at Baghdad, later moving to Karachi where their son, the present Agha Khan, was born. Agha 'Ali Shāh died in 1885 after a brief Imamate of only four years, during which he had sought to improve the Khoja community. A school was opened for Khoja children. He had a personal interest in special researches made concerning the Hindu Kush Maulais. At his own request he was buried at Najaf.

The eldest son of Agha 'Ali Shāh died in the same year as his father. He was under forty years of age and was greatly loved by the Khoja community and respected by others. It was this prince, Shihāb al dīn Shāh, who wrote the treatise, *Risala dar Haqiqati Din* (The True Meaning of Religion).

Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh

The third Agha Khan, now known as The Right Honourable Sir Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh, was born at Karachi on November 2nd, in the year 1877. He was, therefore, only eight years of age when his father died, leaving to him the dignity and responsibility of the Imamate. He owed much to the training he received from his capable mother, Lady 'Ali Shāh. Dumasia tells us in his book, *A Brief History of the Aga Khan*, that his uncle, Agha Jangi Shah, acted as the guardian of his nephew, but it was his mother who helped most to develop his character and also to shape his education ; and his mother, through much of his minority " carried on the administration of the affairs of the Khoja community through a council."[1] She was gifted with business acumen, and a deep interest in the Khoja community and in the larger Muslim community. It was a pleasure to her to see the son to whose development she had so fully given herself, rise in honours and fruitful service to both these and other communities. King George V recognized her services during the First World War by conferring on her the order of the Crown of India. She travelled

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 62.

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a great deal. She died in 1938 and was buried at Najaf, next to the tomb of her husband.

Others have given us biographies of the Agha Khan wherein they have set forth the multi-sided life he has lived. They have written of his statesmanship that led him upward to the Presidency of the Assembly of the League of Nations in 1937 ; of his love for sport that has made his name known on the racecourses of the world ; of his efforts on behalf of peace, between communities and between nations ; of his zeal for education and his share in the establishment of the Muslim University in Aligarh ; of his early interest in the Muslim League ; of his service to his own community, the Ismā'īlī Khojas ; and of the honours that have been conferred upon him. We will not essay so broad an account of his achievements, but briefly record his leadership of the Khoja community through the more than sixty years that he has been their Imam since 1885.

A hundred years ago when the first Agha Khan left Persia and took up his residence in Bombay, the Khojas lacked discipline and organization. By the decision of Judge Arnould the Agha Khan's position as the head of the community was fixed, and thereby his efforts to separate those who preferred to be Sunni Khojas from the Ismā'īlī Khojas, were vindicated. These court cases laid the foundations for organization. The superstructure waited for the skill of Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh. The difference made by leadership and organization is clearly seen in the differences to-day between the Imamshahis and the Khojas. The latter, under leadership, have responded and their distinctive character has grown more steadily pronounced. The Imamshahis rejected leadership and without it have retrograded.

Coming to the Imamate while yet a child, it was some years before the new Imam could tackle this problem. The Regent-Council did well to hold the most of the community together. But in 1901, while the Agha Khan was abroad, one group withdrew from the *jama'at*, erected their own mosque and made their separate burial ground in Bombay which they called Aram Bagh. They announced the fact of their separation in the newspapers and became known as *Ithnā 'Asharīya* Khojas. They still maintained social intercourse with the main body.[1] On the day of the Agha Khan's return to Bombay some of his followers attacked and killed one of the trustees of the new mosque, and wounded another. Representatives of the seceding group placed their case

[1] Yusuf Ali, EI ; Najm al Ghani Khan, *op. cit.*, pp. 341/342.

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before Lord Northcote, then Governor of Bombay, in a memorial. The Agha Khan early called his followers together and severely condemned such violent conduct.[1] He did not stop with condemnation but early set himself to the urgent need of welding his followers together.

Opposition has not entirely ceased yet. In August 1927 an *Open Letter* was addressed to the Agha Khan by the Khojah Reformers' Society, which has its headquarters in Karachi. In November 1932 they addressed *An Appeal to Mr. Aly Solomon Khan*, the son and heir of the Agha Khan. In the same cover were included *A Voice from India*, dated 1864; *The Northcote Memorial* and the *Open Letter*. *An Appeal* has a tone different from the others in urging Prince Aly Khan to renounce any "claims to divinity,"[2] and thus to open the way to eliminating "the cult of the dagger"[2] which the writer insists has been followed as late as October 1929, and with insidious threats in the fall of 1931.

The number represented by the Khojah Reformers' Society may be very small. There is no way of gauging its strength. But in recent years the Khojas have had two special opportunities to manifest their love for their Imam, first at his Golden Jubilee and recently at his Diamond Jubilee. On the former occasion he was weighed against gold in Bombay, and later at Nairobi, Kenya, in Africa. Ismailis pride themselves that while weighing a person against gold was not new, they believe that His Highness the Agha Khan was the first person who has ever been weighed twice in this way. They take more pride in the assurance that never before has anybody been weighed against diamonds. For at least five years the Agha Khan Legion collected donations of diamonds and money with which to purchase diamonds. As early as January 1943 it had forty thousand members on its rolls, and had collected twenty lakhs of rupees. On March 10, 1946, the remarkable ceremony was celebrated in Bombay. The Agha Khan is said to have weighed 243½ pounds and the value of the diamonds is given as nearly two million dollars. The ceremony was repeated in Dar es Salaam, in the Tanganyika Territory in August 1946. During the week of celebrations that preceded the weighing at Bombay, as many as forty thousand of his followers from India, Africa and the Middle East were cared for in camps and fed without cost as a part of the Jubilee celebrations.[3]

[1] Najm al Ghani Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 342.
[2] Goolamali, Karim, An Appeal, II, III.
[3] The Christian Science Monitor, March 6, 1946.

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While there was pomp and pageantry, there was much more in these celebrations—there was evidence of the deep affection and sincere devotion of the people called Khojas for their Maulana Hazar Imam. He has filled a unique place in their lives. He has thought and planned for the improvement of their lot. He was caught in Switzerland at the beginning of the war and prevented from reaching his people during those years except by cable and wireless. These he frequently used to send "loving paternal blessings" to his "spiritual children" or to show approval of some project: as, for instance, "Much pleased Housing Society Scheme Concentration Honesty Success." In 1943 he enjoined the necessity of earlier marriages and designated his representatives to further the task.

Replying to critics of the plan to weigh the Agha Khan against diamonds, the *Ismaili* said:

> According to tradition all presentations in cash and kind to His Highness are made over by him to trusts engaged in constructive work for the community as a whole. His Highness never appropriates them for his own private use.[1]

A later issue contained "a correction" explaining the above paragraph as follows:

> What we meant was that His Highness in fact uses large sums of his own property for the uplift and betterment of his followers.
>
> The entire community knows that the offerings or presentations which the members of the community wish to make to His Highness on the unique occasion of the Diamond Jubilee will be an absolute gift to His Highness personally. It is a well known fact that His Highness does not accept a conditional gift.[2]

As a matter of fact, on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee in Bombay, the Agha Khan said:

> I accept with pleasure the gold my dear spiritual children have offered me, and give them my loving and paternal spiritual blessings. I have decided to use the gold for the uplift of my spiritual children and appoint . . . (names) . . . to devise the best means of applying not only the income of this gold, but the corpus also, for intensive uplift work among my spiritual children, in India particularly, by way of all kinds of scholarships, relief by emigration from congested districts, infant welfare and other beneficial work.[3]

[1] Ismaili, Jan. 21, 1945.
[2] Ismaili, Feb. 18, 1945.
[3] Dumasia, *op. cit.*, p. 283.

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Similar disposition was made in Africa when the celebration was repeated there.

But not only at Jubilee celebrations do the Ismā'īlī Khojas show their affection for the Imam. Dumasia, a Parsi, and long an admirer of the Agha Khan, accompanied him on some of his tours. He bears witness to what he saw.

> The delight they felt in seeing their spiritual leader knew no bounds. Their extraordinary devotion to him and wonderful discipline filled the hearts of the Agha Khan's friends with joy. . . . Nothing struck him (Dumasia) more than the outbursts of genuine affection displayed by his followers of all ages and both sexes for the Agha Khan. There was no mistaking the feelings of veneration and the love entertained by the Khojas towards their revered leader.[1]

In 1898 the Agha Khan married his cousin, the daughter of his uncle, Agha Jangi Shah. In 1908 he married Theresa Magliano, an Italian sculptress whose works had been exhibited in the Royal Academy of several different countries. She had two sons one of whom died as an infant. The second is Prince Aly Khan. Princess Theresa died in 1926. In 1929 the Agha Khan married Mlle. Andree Carron, to whom a son was born in January 1933, who bears the name Sadr al din. The Begam Agha Khan took a real interest in the life and work of her husband, often accompanying him on his tours, and organizing social welfare activities for Ismā'īlī women. This marriage was " dissolved some months ago at their mutual request,"[2] and in October 1944 the Agha Khan married Mlle. Yvette Labrousse of Cannes. She had previously become a convert to Islam and had taken the Muslim name of Umme Habiba. The wedding took place in Switzerland.[3]

Prince Aly Solomon Khan was born at Turin in Italy on June 13, 1910. Most of his childhood was spent in Europe with his mother. Later years were divided between England and the continent. He was tutored by Mr. C. W. Waddington, once Principal of the Mayo College in India. Aside from books, he is accomplished in horsemanship, yachting, motoring and aviation. In May 1936 he was married to the Hon. Mrs. Noel Guinness. She early became interested in Islamic literature, and in the affairs of the Ismā'īlī community. They have two fine sons, Prince Karim Agha, the older, and Prince Amīn Muḥammad.[4]

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 358/359.
[2] The Statesman, Delhi, Oct. 8, 1944.
[3] Ismaili, May 27, 1945.
[4] Dumasia, *op. cit.*, pp. 314 ff.

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Among Ismailis, Prince Aly is described as His Serene Highness Prince Aly Khan, or as The Valiahad. In recent years he has toured among the followers of the Agha Khan, both to help his father and, during the war years, because his father was prevented. He has won his way to the hearts of the people, and his wife, Princess Tajuddaulah Aly Khan has taken an interest in the education and general welfare work of the community. Concerning Prince Aly's tours, we read :

> The Prince is contacting not only the office bearers, but the ordinary man-in-the-street, and gets first-hand knowledge of the problems which affect their day-to-day life. Also it enables the Prince to find out for himself whether the office bearers are doing their duty to the people.[1]

The annual birthday celebration of the Agha Khan has become a celebration of the joint birthdays of him and of the Valiahad. In 1943 the Agha Khan permitted the joint celebration to include " one grandson, Prince Karim only."[2]

Prince Aly has been on active service during the war years, rising to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. This service has greatly reduced the time he might have had with the Ismailis, but he has been granted leave occasionally for that purpose. In 1944 the Welcome extended to him by the *Ismaili* included these sentiments :

> O Welcome to our guiding Star, PRINCE ALY KHAN who by visiting us has removed the darkness and kindled the divine light. . . . We, to whom he is so dear, fervently pray that he may long reign divinely over us !
> O Spiritual Father ! We are so happy and so proud that the Valiahad is amongst us and we celebrate SALGREH MUBARRAK (blessed birthday) in his holy presence, with your showering blessings.[3]

When the first Agha Khan came to India he did not plan to stay. Rather he expected to gather forces and perhaps win the English as an ally, and then fight for the Persian throne. Throughout the Fatimid period, and in Alamut, both under the Grand-masters and the Imams, the Ismā'īlī Imams had been rulers of a State as well as the head of a religious community. After the fall of Alamut the situation was confused, but when the line of Imams emerged in the first half of the eighteenth century we find Abū al Ḥasan 'Alī Shāh as governor ruling Kirman for the

[1] Ismaili, Feb. 7, 1943, p. 3.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] Ismaili, Jan. 23, 1944 (cover).

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Zend kings. The first Agha Khan married the daughter of the Persian Shah. His son and grandson not only have royal blood from that union, but through their lineage claim royal descent from the Fatimid kings,[1] and as Imams the same lineage traces back to 'Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib, son-in-law of the Prophet.

It was " in his blood," then, for the first Agha Khan to think of returning to Persia as its ruler. Dumasia tells us that there was a serious proposal among the British authorities to place the Agha Khan on the throne of Afghanistan because of the services he had rendered. He was actually " made Chieftain of a territory conquered by the British from the Afghans."[2] These plans fell through, as also the Agha Khan's own hopes to return to Persia as the Shah. But the hope to rule a State seems not to have died. The present Agha Khan is said to have occasionally requested assignment of a territory of which he would be the ruler. Less than a decade has passed since the Viceroy refused such a request for territory in India.

[1] Not through Hasan Sabbah as stated in EI (under Agha Khan) but through Nizar and Hasan *'ala dhikrihi's salam*.
[2] Dumasia, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

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CHAPTER XXV

The Religion of the Khojas

We have traced the line of the Imams of the Shia Imami Ismailis, known also as the Nizari branch of Ismailis, from 'Ali to the present Agha Khan, and we have seen the sect establish itself in India as one of the important components of Islam in that country. In our wish to go further and to learn the doctrines of the Khojas, we are at once confronted with difficulties. Sectarian doctrinal works are difficult to procure, or to read. In an unusual degree we are dependent on information secured in the court cases to which we have made reference, but such information is only partial, and is sometimes given by individuals who are unqualified to interpret doctrinal language. Another source of information is in "Open Letters" written by individuals or groups with the avowed purpose of setting forth grievances. These writers have had the opportunity to know much, but they leave the impression, at times, of an exaggeration or a prejudice that does not present the "whole truth." *Taqīya*, too, is still an admitted practice, from the Imam down. In the court case of 1866 Sunni practices which were admitted to be the custom of the Khoja community were said to be a form of protective dissimulation. The first Agha Khan is reported to have said while yet living in Persia, that there were twelve Imams. This conduct has been explained as a policy of concealment to which he was obliged to resort because in Persia the faith of the *Ithnā'Asharīya* is the religion of the State. When, finally, some of the practices of the sect have been ascertained, at least in part, they are only the *ẓāhir*; the essential truth in the *bāṭin*, which may be very different. So the Imam can say, when answering a question from one among his followers:

> If one who knows the truth (Ma'rifat) calls 'Ali God, it does not matter. From the shari'a he is an unbeliever (Kafir) who calls 'Ali God. It all depends upon your faith.[1]

There is finally the limitation expressed by Mujtaba 'Ali:

> Whatever has been described in the present chapter holds good for the Khojahs as long as the Imam does not express anything

[1] Mujtaba Ali, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

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contrary to it. If he does, his words are to be given preference to any traditional belief however old it may be. The Imam is infallible and his guidance is the highest and true theology.[1]

In the result, the doctrines of the Khojas are definitely Nizarian, with an amazing admixture of Hinduism.

Foundations and Doctrines

The Imam

" Do you accept the Muslim doctrine that there is no God but God ? " Khojah witnesses were asked in the court, and they replied, " Yes, that is our religion also."[2] But two Khojas, speaking with their friend, said " distinctly that the majority of the orthodox Khojahs do not believe in the existence of any other God but in the shape of Agha Khan."[3] The first doctrine of the Khojas is not God, but the Imam—a truly Nizāri note. But to the Khoja the Imam is God. When Sadr al dīn wrote *Das Avatar*, in which 'Ali is depicted as an incarnation, the tenth incarnation of Vishnu, he gave definite form to this doctrine, for to his converts an *avatar* was the deity. Since succeeding Imams have received the " divine light " from 'Ali, each of them until the present has been a like incarnation of the same Divine Essence—the abode of the same divine manifestation. A recurring note in the " *Open Letter* " alludes to this pretension, saying " the secession among your followers involves nothing more than a refusal to acknowledge the Deity of your highness,"[4] and the "*Appeal* " to Prince Aly Khan is primarily to urge him to renounce such claim and to stand before his followers as a man and not as God.

We shall see when dealing with Khoja prayers that they are addressed to the Imam. The Agha Khan's reception when on tour are often more than regal. An account of the reception given him some years ago when he visited Calcutta is not in principle different from others. Thirty to forty thousand rupees were spent on the occasion. The Imam was met at the station which had been prepared as for royalty, by wealthy and able followers who would not presume to shake hands but bowed low and salaamed with both hands. When the Agha Khan was seated in a four-horse carriage he wiped the sweat from his brow with a

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 62.
[2] Najm al Ghani Khan, Madhahib al Islam, p. 347.
[3] Mujtaba Ali, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
[4] Goolamali, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

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silk handkerchief which he then threw over the crowd. These followers who had in their homes all the comforts that wealth could buy, grabbed for the handkerchief and it was torn to pieces. Those who were fortunate enough to get a piece placed it against their eyes and then carefully in their pockets. The next day at the *darbar* which was held, the Agha Khan was seated on a golden chair with a gilded table in front of him on which was a golden bowl. Each follower who had been seated, in turn, rose and went forward, bowed, took from his pocket a bottle of perfume, poured it on the bare feet of the Agha Khan as an offering, then touching his feet with several handkerchiefs, perfumed them for himself. Then according to his means he put gold coins into the bowl on the table as an offering to his Imam.[1]

How closely akin this is to the practice of *guru* worship among some Indian cults is suggested by this statement concerning the Radhe Swami faith.

> Articles of food left in the dishes after an adept has finished his meals, clothes and agarments worn by him, and the water used for the ablution of his feet, are considered to be highly spiritualized, and used by such of the disciples as get an opportunity to obtain them. Disciples are also sometimes allowed to touch the feet of an adept, with their forehead, the object being that their spirituality which is more or less flowing out from the feet of the adept, might be imbibed by them.[2]

There is another indication of the divine reverence in which the Agha Khan is held by his votaries, namely, the practice of vowing " to make a gift of a certain person to Sarkar Sahebji," that is, to him. This is made clear by a rule in the community —doubtless framed with his approval and, therefore, evidence of his acceptance of the intent of such vows—that a person so vowed, or dedicated, may be " redeemed " by the payment of Rs. 51–4–0. If in any instance a smaller sum " be found reasonable to be levied," the Council has the liberty to fix such sum.[3]

The Ḥujjat

The office of *ḥujjat* which had such high standing among the eastern Ismailis would seem to have been dropped from Khoja practice. There is indeed mention of the office in *Risala dar*

[1] Najm al Ghani Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 343.
[2] Pratt, J. B., India and Its Faiths, p. 221.
[3] Goolamali, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

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Haqiqati Din, written before 1885, where we are told " God has left amongst you a Guide, or ' Proof,' *ḥujjat*, who shows the right way you have to follow."[1] But the statement is used only to insist on the need for a *peshwa*, or leader.

In *Madhāhib al Islam*, also, there is reference to Pirs among the Khojas who act as his deputy. The *ḥujjat* is undoubtedly meant. But the present Agha Khan has no such Pir, his *ḥujjat* having died in infancy and no successor was appointed in his place. It seems probable that this position reached its climax with the Imams at Alamut and although it continued as a name, it has actually faded from the hierarchy of the eastern Ismailis. No reference to a current use of the term has been found.

God

God is still thought of by the Khojas in much the same way as by the Fatimids and Nizaris, as abstract, distant and unknowable. Shihāb al dīn Shāh advised Khojas :

> Do not discuss vainly the question of the Substance of God. . . . It is prohibited in religion to meditate on the subject of the attributes (*ṣifāt*) of God. If you imagine something so lofty that you cannot think of anything beyond it, this means that it is the limit of your own fantasy, not that you have really attained some final idea. . . .
> If you are ordered not to meditate (about the nature of God), it is in order that you should not become confused, as, in any case, you are unable to know his properties. . . . Then realize the meaning of the *hadith*—who does not know his Imam, does not know God.[2]

For the Khojas, most of whom were originally converts from Hinduism, the deity of their Imam is not predicated on any such metaphysical basis as a manifestation called Universal Reason with which he is equated ; but on terms of an *avatar*, a term that meant to them an incarnation of Deity—the expected tenth incarnation of Vishnu in 'Ali.

The Quran

The Khoja attitude toward the Quran and the Hadiths is not clearly defined. Dr. Syed Mujtaba Ali says that he has not been able to grasp the attitude taken by the Khojas towards the Quran and the hadiths. " It seems that they consider them to be holy

[1] Shihab al din Shah, Risala dar Haqiqati Din, p. 5.
[2] Shihab al din Shah, Risala dar Haqiqati Din, p. 10.

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scriptures but do not regard studying them as necessary."[1] Traditions are referred to and used especially in regard to the true place of Shiism in Islam. The Quran is held in respect ; and in Khoja periodicals like the *Ismaili*, and in their religious books, there are quotations from it. But one cannot say much more. The author of *Risala dar Haqiqati Din* stresses the fact that the Prophet clearly said " this book (the Coran) and this my posterity (*'itrat*) should never be separated till the day of Resurrection."[2] He then describes how the early *khulafā* seized by force and burned copies that differed from their redaction, thus depriving the people of " the knowledge of the original Coran, which was really left by the Prophet," and how after that they tried to destroy his *'itrat* also, but could not.[3]

Conversing with a group of Khoja boy scouts regarding the Khoja services, I inquired from them if the Quran was read. The first answer was " No," but this was corrected by another boy who said that the first boy meant it was not read in Arabic, but it was read in its Gujarati translation. Such a translation was rather recently made. In 1932 Mujtaba Ali wrote that the Khojas did not care for a Gujarati translation. One of the biographers of the Agha Khan says that he reads some portion of the Quran every day. In the court one witness said : " I do not recognize the Quran. I was not there when it descended."[4] Another when asked if he as a Musalman recognized the Quran as a religious book, replied, " Whose it is he knows." To another question : " Do you act according to the Quran ? " a Khoja witness replied, " No." The Khoja Reformers' Society remind the Agha Khan :

> Besides, your highness has yourself enjoined on your followers to devoutly follow Pir Sadrudin's *Ginans* which clearly point out to your followers that the Koran is not meant for them. there is also the Firman by your highness to your followers some years ago to the effect that the present Koran is not genuine.[5]

The Maulais, who also acknowledge the Agha Khan, assert that Gabriel had been told to give the Quran to 'Ali and by mistake he gave it to Muḥammad. *They* put in its place the *Kalami Pir*. The religious books of the Khojas are known as Ginans ; and of

[1] Mujtaba Ali, *op. cit.*, p. 59.
[2] Shihab al din Shah, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 17/22.
[4] Najm al Ghani Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 347.
[5] Goolamali, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

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these *Das Avatar*, written by Sadr al dīn is by far the most important, although other parts of the Ginans are much read, particularly after evening prayers. The *Das Avatar* contains ten chapters, each describing one of the incarnations of Vishnu, of which 'Ali is the last. The whole book, but particularly the last chapter, is accepted as scripture by the Khojas, and is read in the homes, at festivals, at meetings in the *jama'at khana*, and at the deathbed of a Khoja. The earliest Ginans are also said to have been written by Pir Sadr al dīn. They also include writings of some of the Imams. Dumasia says that some addresses of the Agha Khan on religious and controversial subjects to large gatherings of his followers, are added to and form a component part of the Ginans.[1]

After the *Das Avatar* the *Pandyād i Jawān Mardi* comes next in importance. This is attributed to Imam 'Abd al Salām, and is found in Gujarati and Sindhi. It is the source of religious guidance to many Khojas. This is the book which is classed as a *ḥujjat*, but *ḥujjat* in the time of Imam Shams al din, and not of 'Abd al Salām who lived two hundred years later. Of lesser importance, but also among the religious books are descriptions of fights between the Khoja Pīrs and demons, suggestive of Hindu mythology, and polemical tracts against the seceding *Ithnā 'Asharīya* Khojas and the Arya Samajhists.[2]

The Prophet

In the course of his decision Sir Erskine Perry said that the Khojas " knew but little of their Prophet and of the Koran."[3] A witness in one of the court cases said, " Ali is the tenth incarnation ; Muhammad was his Prophet."[4] The Agha Khan, when once asked to show miracles, replied to his followers : " Prophets show miracles. I am no Prophet." On another occasions, he gave this added reason for not performing miracles which appears to be a marked departure from the Shiite doctrine of the grace of God :

> God has said that he has created Heaven and Hell and they will be full. If I show miracles everyone will take faith in me and Hell would be empty. That would not work.[5]

The Khojas recognize only four prophets : Moses, David, Jesus and Muḥammad.

[1] Dumasia, A Brief History of the Agha Khan, p. 162.
[2] Mujtaba Ali, *op. cit.*, p. 59.
[3] Perry, *op. cit.*, pp. 708/709.
[4] Najm al Ghani Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 347.
[5] Mujtaba Ali, *op. cit.*, p. 100, n. 41, p. 53.

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THE SHI'A OF INDIA

Religious Duties

The religious duties of the Khojas are the same as those of the Nizaris, with this difference: that nowhere is *taharat*, or ritual purification, mentioned separately. First among the duties is:

Walāya

Love for the family of the Prophet which has been so distinctive of Shiism, remains a cardinal principle among the Khojas. True to Shiite practice, the Khojas add to the *kalima* the words: "and Ali the companion of Muhammad is the Vicar of God."[1] To worship with the heart is to feel "a great affection for the Five Members of the Prophet's Family,"[2] especially to love the *Mawlā* (Imam), and to recognize his descendants as "leading lights" and "your (only) Truth." The Khoja book *Risala dar Haqiqati Din*, which was written by the eldest son of Agha Ali Shah, who but for an early death would have been the Imam, stresses again the typically Shiite distinction between *imān* and *islām*. The ethical implications which early seemed to inhere in the distinction have now been lost, as the following quotations will show:

> Faith (*iman*) is nothing but love in the heart—The foundation (*aṣl*) of faith is love for the *Mawlā*.—Love for the *Mawlā* is everything, being the root of faith.—If you have love (for the *Mawlā*), even if you do not show much outward piety, you, nevertheless, remain a *Mu'min*, faithful, as your nature is not yet bad, and it is only your behaviour which is not good; it may be hoped that God may forgive this.—If there is (in the heart) any feeling of hostility towards 'Ali, no meritorious act will be of any help,—love of 'Ali only obliterates all sins.—Our followers (shi'a) are our friends, and our friends never leave this world without their sins having been forgiven. In this world the villain and the rioter is only he who is our enemy. There are, indeed, stupid friends whose actions may be objectionable or harmful, but their intentions and purpose are good and pure. On the Day of Resurrection they will rise clean (rū-safīd) as their sins will be forgiven in this world, having been punished by illness or losses in trade, or by the oppression of the wicked.[3]——

Prayer

Khojas do not have mosques. Their place of worship is called a *jamā'at khana*. These are said to be somewhat similar to the

[1] Faridi, Gazetteer, p. 47.
[2] Shihab al din Shah, *op. cit.*, pp. 25/26.
[3] *Ibid.*

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Fatimid House of Wisdom where majlises were held. There is no information about the buildings used by the Assassins, but it is not impossible that the Khoja jamaat khanas are made on the pattern of theirs. The idea of using the mosque, not only for prayers, " but meetings, transactions with non-Muslims, receiving ambassadors, treatment of the believers wounded in battle, etc.,"[1] goes back to the time of the Prophet at Medina. The Khojas use their jamaat khanas for weddings, meetings of Khoja societies, for meetings in connection with offerings of tithes as well as for religious ceremonies. Such varied use of the place of worship is one of the grounds of protest made by the Khoja Reformers' Society.

The largest centre in Bombay is at Dongri. It is built around a large open court, and includes not only the *jama'at khana*, but a school for girls and small boys, office rooms for the Council, the Agha Khan Legion which was in charge of the plans for celebrating the Diamond Jubilee of the Agha Khan, etc. The building is of four storeys, and the whole of one end is the *jama'at khana*. The ground floor is largely open. The next two floors afford large, airy halls for congregational use. A partition, not obscuring vision, sets off approximately a third of the space of the hall on the first floor for the use of women. The whole of the floor is covered with matting ; the room is well lighted by large windows, and it is kept very clean by women volunteers. I estimated the hall to be two hundred feet long and sixty-five or seventy feet wide. It is provided with electric lights and fans.

For a service the congregation sits on the matting. The leader sits near the centre of the inside wall behind a low, marble-topped table. If the Agha Khan is present, he occupies this place ; if he is absent the *mukhi* may. The address is given by a person who was spoken of as "a missionary." The word *dā'ī* was not used for him.

At one corner of the hall on the first floor is a room in which were large kettles. These, we were told, were filled with water at times of morning services, that is for the *Gath Panth* ceremony.

Adjoining the great hall on the second floor, which is unbroken by any partition, is a private room of the Agha Khan. Here is an upholstered ' throne ' with a low border around it, on which he sits for *darshan* of his followers. Two doors open into the room from the hall. Above this room is a roof room, which is used for private audiences. There is a special gate and driveway

[1] Mujtaba Ali, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

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for the Agha Khan to enter the court and building. It leads directly to his rooms, from which he reaches the halls, or the roof room by an elevator, or lift.

Khojas have stated periods for prayer, which they call *du'a*, but the hours and also the form have been modified, so that their practice is very different from that of orthodox Islam. They observe three periods for prayer,[1] as follows :

(1) The *Subhoji Du'a* which may be held any time after midnight, but usually comes between 4 and 5 a.m.
(2) The *Sanjiji* (or *Sananjo*) *Du'a*, which comes at dusk, or after sunset.
(3) The *Somnaji Du'a*, between 8 and 9 p.m., or before retiring for the night.

It will be observed that all of these are between sunset and sunrise ; day prayers having been omitted. It has been suggested that this practice may have sprung from the necessity of *taqīya* in order to protect the Khoja, for since not only the hours of prayer differ, but their forms also, he could not properly pray with others, or even try to do so, without exposing himself. The morning prayers are usually repeated at the *jama'at khana*, but the others in the homes of the worshippers.

These periods of prayer were laid down by Pīr Dādū. Previous to his time Khojas met in their jamaat khanas thrice daily and worship consisted chiefly in the repetition of the 99 or 101 names of the Pīr Shāh, on a rosary of glass or amber, or preferably one made of beads of Kerbala clay, and such prayers are still said. The forms of prayer are laid down in the *Pandyād i Jawān Mardi*.

Ordinarily, the leader of the congregational prayers, spoken of as " Imam," following orthodox nomenclature, has no official standing. In Bombay, boys of the Sindi school are selected for this in turn. Sindi schools are evening schools meeting in the *jama'at khāna* for religious instruction, especially in Sindi so that the Ginans may be read.[2] Acting under direction of the Mukhi, a boy says the prayer audibly and the others repeat it mentally. He closes with a special prayer for the assembly. Khojas do not face Mecca and they remain seated during the prayer except at the mention of the living Imam, to whom all prayers are addressed, when he bows forward and places his forehead on his rosary or on a cake of Kerbala clay which had been put in position earlier.

Besides these daily prayers, there are three occasions for special

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 63/63. Cf. also T & C Bombay, pp. 224/228 ; and Bom. Gaz., IX, pt. 2, pp. 48/50.
[2] Mujtaba Ali, *op. cit.*, p. 67 ; 105, n. 25.

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prayers: New Moon, Muḥarram, and Ramaḍān. At these times there is congregational worship and prayers are led by the Agha Khan if he is present, or by his deputy. The keeper of the *jama'at khāna* stands at the door to receive the password of those who enter. As each worshipper comes he says, " He Zinda " (O Thou Living One), to which the keeper replies, " Qaim paya " (I have found him true). This shibboleth is said to have arisen when Kabīr al dīn visited the Imam in Persia. " He zinda," said the Imam, to which the Pīr replied, " Qaim paya." These words used in the period of devotion have especial merit equivalent to the gift of a horse in charity.

When the Khoja witness in court, answering as to the participation of Khojas in prayers, replied, " We recite *namaz* twice in the year only,"[1] he had reference to the two occasions when the Khojas may join with other Muslims, namely the two 'Id festivals, *'Id al Fiṭr* at the close of Ramaḍān, and *'Id al Aḍha*, also commonly known as *Bakr 'Id*, but " since the Khojas do not know enough of the Koran or the Daruda by heart they do nothing but imitate the leader of the prayer "[2] when he kneels or bows to the ground. At the conclusion of prayers they meet with others as Muslims. While some Khojas may meet with Muslim congregations as Dr. Mujtaba Ali says, large numbers attend the special prayers arranged for Khojas in the jamaat khanas. The Agha Khan's followers in Persia are said not to perform *namāz* at all.[3]

The following description of the Khoja prayer used in the mornings at the *jama'at khana*, based on the Khoja prayer book, is given us by Syed Mujtaba Ali:

> The prayer is addressed to the Imam and although Khuda (God) and bandegi-i-Khuda (worship of God) occur from time to time, it is the Imam who plays the important role. The prayer is divided into eighteen parts and at the end of every part and the beginning of the next the Khojah entreats the Aga Khan to accept his prayer by saying: " O, amara ghani Aga Sultan Muhammad Shah datar! (O, my Lord, Sultan Muhammad Shah, the benevolent). The first part contains the naming of the prayer (Sanjiji, Somneji or Sibhoji, as the case may be) and the begging for divine blessings and ends with ' O, Shah (i.e. the Aga Khan)! In your divine essence accept my evening (morning or late evening as the case may be) prayer, O, My Lord Aga Sultan Muhammad Shah! ' After that the devotee bows to the Aga Khan so that his forehead

[1] Najm al Ghani Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 347.
[2] Mujtaba Ali, *op. cit.*, p. 68.
[3] Ivanow, W., Ismailitica, p. 57.

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touches the rosary placed on the ground. The second part contains nothing important. In the third part the devotee remembers the Niskalanki Avatar, begs for forgiveness, and asks the Imam to accept his prayer. In the fourth part the devotee recites the name of the Aga Khan, (Hakk Ya Shah ! O, Lord of Truth !) on the rosary. He then names the seventeen shapes of the Hindu god Vishnu.[1]

After the seventeenth shape Vishnu took human form through ten incarnations, each with several Patras, all of which seem to be remembered. In parts five and six there is a prayer to 'Ali, and also a prayer to the Agha Khan when the devotee bows to the ground. In part seven the prayer recognizes 'Ali as God ('Ali Khuda chhe), and then comes a prayer to the Agha Khan to have mercy on those who love him and on the Panjibhai. In the eighth, tenth and eleventh parts again are prayers to the Agha Khan. Then follows a prayer for the *Panjtan i Pak* ; one for the " religious Panjibhai, the descendants of 'Ali," and a bo to the Agha Khan.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth part while he is bowing down to the ground he begs of God, ' Ali and Mahomed to drive away his evils and to bless Pir Sadr al-Din and his family. He bows to the ground fifteen times and every time begs for something. He then takes the rosary in his hand and recites the name of Shah Gharib Mirza. In the seventeenth and eighteenth parts he first recites : ' Ya Shah muskil ahsan kar (O, King, make my difficulties easy) ' a hundred times on the rosary. Then after bowing down to the ground he recites fourteen times ' Ya 'Ali,' counting on his fingers. Then follows the recitation of . . . ' O, Allah ! make Mahomed and the followers of Mahomed successful,' fourteen times which is offered to the Aga Khan for acceptance. The devotee then bows to the ground and after getting up prays to the Aga Khan to keep his intentions pure (Du'a nuyyat *kh*air) which is again followed by a Sijda in which he asks for the assistance of the Aga Khan. He then rises and begs help of the Pirs and Mahomed. Then with his mouth he first blows to the right and then to the left. Then he says to others who are saying prayers : ' Hai Zinda (O, you living one !) ' to which they reply : ' Ka'im paya (I found him safe) ' or vice versa. The devotee then bows to the ground and says : ' Bhul chuk Maula bakhsh (O, Master, i.e., Aga Khan, forgive the mistakes I may have committed in the prayer).[2]

Next after prayer the counting of the names of the Pirs on a

[1] Mujtaba Ali, *op. cit.*, pp. 64/67.
[2] *Ibid.*

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rosary of 101 beads made of Kerbala clay, is the most important act of Khoja devotion.[1]

The *Gath Panth*, a prayer, but also a sacrament, is observed every day after morning prayers and in the evening of every new moon. Formerly, it had been held only three times a week. The ritual of this service dates from the time of Sadr al Din, who adopted a practice of the Shaktipanthis who were converted under his preaching and whom he called the Satpanthis. The service is held in the *jama'at khana* and when the Agha Khan is present he presides, otherwise the officers of the *jama'at khana* preside. The essential part of the service is the drinking of water with which has been mixed Kerbala clay. The mixing is done by the presiding officer, who recites special prayers while doing it, and also covers his mouth with a cloth so that no spit may fall into the water with which the clay is being mixed in a large vessel. After the individual worshipper has completed his prayer he goes forward, puts down a sum varying from two annas to two rupees, kisses the hand of the leader and receives from him a small cup of the water and after swallowing it leaves the room.[2] This custom, or one like it, was found among the Qarmatians, but instead of a drink they had a dish of food.[3]

On the night of the new moon the service is very similar. The offering then made by the worshipper is a silver coin. Then also the boys of the Sindi school, standing near the doorway, recite some of the Ginans, and may be joined by others in this. After the service is over, articles of food which have been brought to the *jama'at khana* by the Khojas are auctioned, usually at high prices, and the proceeds placed with other funds for the Agha Khan.

Fasting

> Brother, do not make a mistake : I do not say : ' do not pray ', or ' do not fast ' ; what I say is : do not permit yourself to be cheated by those who ostentatiously pray much, or talk much about fasting.--All these things are very proper and very laudable but if these people have no love for the Lord (Mawlā), all this will scarcely help them.[4]

In the *Pandyād i Jawān Mardi* it is prescribed : " To fast one

[1] Bom. Gaz., IX, Pt. 2, p. 49.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] Mujtaba Ali, *op. cit.*, p. 106, n. 28.
[4] Shihab al din, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

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day out of thirty days (of Ramaḍān) is customary, there is no need to fast any more."[1]

In accordance with this direction Khojas fast only on the 21st of Ramaḍān, and then only from the time they go to bed on the 20th until noon of the 21st, not a very severe ordeal. However, the whole month is considered as sacred, but the nights from the 19th through the 23rd are especially so. One of these nights is thought to be the *lailat al qadr*, the night of decree, on which the Quran descended, and which is also the night when a record is made of what the coming year will bring forth. Muḥammad did not remember the exact date and according to a *ḥadīth* of Bukhāri directed that those interested " search for it in the last ten days, and on one of the odd days."[2] On the nights from the 19th to the 23rd a service of confession is held at the *jama'at khana*.

> The confessor kneels in front of the Mukhi or Kamaria and says: 'Ya 'Ali'. The Mukhi (or Kamaria) takes a little of the holy water mixed with the mould of Karabala and sprinkles it on the confessor's forehead. The confessor then pays a silver coin and retires.[3]

One who wishes to make such a confession can go on any of these special evenings. There is no verbal confession of sins such as is known in western confessionals, yet one who partakes in this ceremony receives forgiveness of his sins for the past year. In the *Madhāhib al Islām*, in connection with these services, we are told that printed cards with the names of the *Panjtan* printed on them, are kept in the *jama'at khana* and during the service are placed by the Khojas on their heads.[4] On the night of the 23rd Ramaḍan the *jama'at khana* is illuminated.

If a new moon falls on a Friday, the following Friday is called Sambha and it is a day of fast in the same manner as the fast observed on the 21st Ramaḍan. The Maulais and the Persian Ismailis do not fast at all.

Pilgrimage

According to Ismailian *ta'wīl*, *hajj* or pilgrimage, was interpreted to mean a visit to the Imam. This interpretation holds true among the Khojas. In the early periods of the sect, when

[1] Mujtaba Ali, *op. cit.*, p. 69.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 106, n. 32.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 69.
[4] Najm al Ghani Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 348.

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the Imam was in Persia, it was necessary for the Khojas to go abroad. Testimony in the famous Khoja case of 1866 confirmed this practice to be a regular custom. Sir Erskine Perry said that " the pilgrimage to Mecca is unknown amongst the Khojahs," but " from all time our fathers used to go on pilgrimage to Durkhana," was the testimony of a witness in 1866. By " Durkhana," he meant the principal residence of the Imam. It was customary on these occasions to take to the Imam the *dassondh* or other offerings that had been collected for him. One pilgrim, describing his experiences on such a pilgrimage, told how he stayed at the seat of the Imam, lodged at his expense for a period of a month or six weeks, " in a large rude building, built round on three sides of a great open court." During this period

> having first made their offerings, they were admitted ten or twelve times to the presence of the Imam. ' The Aga sat on his *Masnad* (cushion) ; we beheld his face, kissed his hand and retired '. It was for that they had come and with that they were all satisfied.[1]

With the Imam now resident in Bombay, his followers from countries outside of India make similar pilgrimage to him here. Occasionally those from Africa will meet him at Marseilles, or other points on his frequent travels. The sectarians of the upper Oxus who are sufficiently well-to-do are said to be very strict in the " performance of the pilgrimage to the Deity." But Ivanow relates that the situation is very different with the sectarians from Persia. These look upon the modes of worship of their Indian co-religionists as forms of " idolatry." Instances of pilgrimage are not common. Then he adds this significant evidence :

> I never saw or heard about one of these who after having performed the pilgrimage returned a more ardent follower of the religion. But at the same time I have seen several cases where previously zealous believers on their returning from India became renegades.[2]

Pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina is almost never undertaken by Khojas. At the time of the court case in 1866 only eight or ten Khojas could be named who had ever made this pilgrimage. But they still "go in hundreds and thousands" or " in multitudes "[3] to Kerbala, or Najaf. In 1896 Agha Jangi Shah, an uncle of the present Agha Khan, and his son, were killed by assassins at Jeddah while they were on their way as pilgrims to

[1] BHCR, (12), p. 346.
[2] Ivanow, W., Ismailitica, p. 57, No. 20.
[3] Dumasia, N. M., Brief History, pp. 157, 222.

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Mecca. The murderers were said to be staunch followers of the Agha Khan. They were arrested and kept in custody at Jeddah, and were later found dead at their place of confinement, having taken poison. No information is available, but the incident has allowed the suspicion that it grew from opposition to this pilgrimage which the sect condemns.

The Khojas, like all Muslims, have also lesser pilgrimages. It is surprising, therefore, to find that they do not make pilgrimage to the tomb of Pīr Sadr al dīn.[1]

> One of the places considered universally sacred by all the Khojahs of Gujrat is the Minbar (pulpit) of Shah 'Abbas 'Ali, situated outside the former Jama'at Khana of Bombay which ranks next to the Minbar of the Aga Khan and of Imam Husayn situated inside the Jama'at Khana. A Khojah woman in distress would invariably go to the Minbar of Shah 'Abbas 'Ali and make a vow in the case if her son would regain health or in the case of a childless woman if she is blessed with a child. The fulfilment of the vow consists in distributing food to the poor or filling up with milk the large hole in front of the Minbar which can contain about three maunds (120 quarts) of liquid. The milk, like other food brought to the Jama'at Khana is distributed among the poor.[2]

Almsgiving

More than any other duty, the Ismailis in general, and the Khojas in particular, stress the giving of *zakāt*, or almsgiving; but because it is less for alms and mostly for the Imam, and also because of the excessive demands, this has caused more grumbling and secession than perhaps any other one principle of the sect. The decision in the Khoja case in 1866 declared that all offerings were rightly considered as belonging personally to the Imam, and he was free to expend the sums received as he pleased.

Foremost among these assessments is the tithe, or *dassondh*. As early as 1430 Ṣadr al dīn passed the "tythe wallet" for this purpose and numerous references indicate that the principle has been consistently adhered to. In the court case of 1866 it was proved by account books as old as 1772 that Kamadias had sent to the "Sirkar Sahib" from Sind, and as early as 1782 from Kathiawar, "voluntary offerings (zakāt) out of religious feeling (dharm) to the Imam."[3] Both plaintiffs and defendants agreed

[1] BHCR, (12), p. 352.
[2] Mujtaba Ali, *op. cit.*, p. 71.
[3] BHCR, (12), p. 345.

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that the custom had been " from the beginning." Money was sent in olden times in leather bags called *jowlis*, by special messengers called *rais*. Later it was sent by *hundis*, bills of exchange, drawn for the most part on Muscat.

The *dassondh*, which Mujtaba Ali says is now one-eighth and not one-tenth,[1] falls due on each new moon day, and is deposited in a box or other receptacle placed for it in the *jama'at khana*. The Ginans and the *Pandyad-i-Jawān Mardi* all stress the importance of this obligation. The latter threatens this wise :

> If one does not pay one tenth of his income to the Imam, the one tenth turns into fire and the other nine parts into wood and they together burn everything he has into ashes.[2]

At the same time those who do pay have the expectation that in this life they will be prosperous and in the future life they will receive salvation.[3] Because of their unwillingness to pay the *dassondh* the Momans left the Khoja community in the sixteenth century. Many others have been excommunicated for non-payment of this assessment. On the other hand, it is probable that the most of them try to pay the required sum when due. Dumasia records the unusual phenomenon of Ismailis of " Hindustan and Turkestan " who, when unable to " remit the money collected, actually threw it into the sea."[4]

Besides the *dassondh*, there are numerous other " dues " that the Khoja is expected to pay. One of the largest is the *petondh*. In the *Khoja Vrttant* is a list of sixteen additional dues varying from one pice to one thousand rupees that are required in this sect,[5] but in *An Appeal* from the reform faction in the community, we read the amazing statement that the number of dues levied in one way or another has now " swelled to about 275 kinds."[1] Elsewhere the same authority complains " our poor brethren are made to pay about 50% of their income in various shapes to God himself in the person of your highness."[6]

What the total income of the Agha Khan must be from his numerous followers, no one can guess. In 1866 Sir Joseph Arnould considered the annual income to be one thousand pounds sterling a year. In 1901 the Reform Group estimated it to be Rs. 1,200,000 a year (Rs. 15 was equivalent to one pound). It is estimated

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 72.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] Najm al Ghani Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 346.
[4] Dumasia, *op. cit.*, p. 64.
[5] Bom. Gaz., IX, Pt. 2, p. 49.
[6] Goolamali, *op. cit.*, pp. 56, 85.

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that from Karachi alone there is an income of Rs. 20,000 a month. Aside from these more regular sources of income are the offerings received by the Imam when he goes on tour among his people. In 1920, on such an occasion, in a visit of 26 days at Karachi he received fifteen lakhs of rupees (1,500,000), and two years later, another Rs. 154,000 " although your highness was not with them for more than two hours."[1] Even conceding that such estimates have been greatly exaggerated, it still remains evident that the steady income for the Agha Khan from his faithful followers is tremendous.

Very unusual, and yet worthy of mention, is the right held in reserve, of the Imam to collect the ' Bukhus.'[2] This was last levied in 1839–40 when the first Agha Khan came to Sind, but is known to have been paid on other occasions also. It is a levy of " the tenth, or the fifth part of the whole of a Khojah's possessions."

Religious War

The Khoja explanation of Jihād as a war against one's own vile instincts is supported by a story that on one occasion a party returned to Medina from a military expedition and were greeted by the Prophet as though they had been engaged in " a *jihādi asghar*, or the smaller war in the cause of religion." Greatly surprised, they inquired concerning the *jihādi akbar*, and it was explained by the Prophet as indicated.

> . . . in this lies the true meaning of the expression *siratu'l* mustaqim, i.e. the bridge narrow as the edge of a sword which leads to Paradise. To bring these instincts under control is to walk along the right path.[3]

Eschatology

With the Khojas, as with Ismailis of other groups, salvation consists in recognizing the Imam of the period. Every Khoja is tested at the grave for this, being asked soon after interment by Munkar and Nakir if he has recognized the Imam. If the answer is in the affirmative he is hastened on toward heaven, but if not, he must be born again on the earth as a man. Before this,

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 62, 85/86.
[2] Bom. Gaz., IX, p. 49.
[3] Shihab al din, *op. cit.*, pp. 1/2.

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however, he must pass through eighty-four laks of rebirths in the shape of animals, and then he can be given one more chance of being a man who can recognize the Imam. If he again fails to do this, he must again pass through a similar cycle of rebirths in animal forms and then again be born as a man. This continues until he does recognize the Imam of the Age. The Khojas do not recognize rebirths in the forms of stones and plants as the Shughnani Ismailis do.

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CHAPTER XXVI

The Khoja Community To-day

The Shī'a of India can be understood only when we remember that they are closely related to Shī'a scattered in other countries. Especially is this true of the Nizari Ismailis to which the Khojas belong. They are very widely scattered, yet the Nizaris of India, Central Asia, Afghanistan, Persia, Syria, and Africa are united by their common recognition of His Highness the Agha Khan as their spiritual head.[1] In some beliefs and in many practices they will vary, but this allegiance to one Imam proclaims an affinity which is important. It is surprising then by what variety of names the Eastern Ismailis, or Nizaris, are known : Ismā'īlīya in Syria ; Muridani Agha Khan in Persia ; 'Ali Ilahis in the Pashai speaking districts north of Kabul, Afghanistan ; Mullas, Mullais or Maulais in the Central Asian highlands ;[2] Khojas in India. In India other names are found also ; Shamsis or Multanis in the Punjab who are elsewhere described ; Nur Shahis or followers of Nur Satagur ; Guptis who are secret followers ;[3] *some* among the Imamshahis or Satpanthis, and finally Faridi adds, " by the Nur Baksh sect Khojahs are meant."[4]

Speaking more directly of the Khojas they are strongest in Bombay, Gujarat, Cutch, Kathiawar, Sind, Ahmadabad, Baroda, Surat, Khandesh and in places in the Punjab, but they are found in very many places throughout India and Burma. The Mir of Hunza and most of the people of his state are Ismailis, known as Maulais,[4] or Mughlis.[5] Faridi divides the Khojas into seven divisions : (1) Khedwaya-Momna Khojas, (2) Gujar-Gupti Khojas, (3) Multani Khojas, (4) Atlai-Khursani Khojas, (5) Mochi Momna Khojas, (6) Soni-Lohar Khojas and (7) Kabuli and Badakhshani Khojas.[6]

No statistics are available which would enable us even approximately to estimate the followers of the Agha Khan. They are

[1] Ivanow, Guide, pp. 8/10.
[2] CIR, 1911, XVII, p. 148.
[3] For Guptis, see : Najm al Ghani Khan, Madhahib al Islam, pp. 350/351 ; and Ivanow, W., The Sect of Imam Shah, JBBRAS, 1936, XII, p. 22.
[4] Bom. Gaz., p. 36.
[5] IGI, 1909, XIII, pp. 138/139.
[6] Bom. Gaz., p. 36.

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said to be numbered " by the million."[1] One writer tells us

> Ismailis—over 20,000,000 of them *worship* the Spiritual Entity whose personality in our time is known as His Highness the Agha Khan.[2]

The name Khoja is believed to be equivalent to *khwājah*, master or lord. The term was used of old for merchants who early visited the ports of Sind, and was given to converts from the Lohanas of Sind by Pīr Ṣadr al dīn. Faridi considers the term " a translation of the title Thakkar or Thakur by which Lohanas are addressed," and bases his opinion on the form of address still used among the people.[3]

Leaders from the Community

Within the Khoja community are a great many good business men who have travelled widely in the pursuit of their business. It has been largely through their efforts that the communities in Africa have grown. Many of the young men of the community to-day start as apprentices and with the help of their seniors work their way to the top. With the death of Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla in 1942, the Khojas lost one of their most eminent leaders after many years of distinguished service for his country and his community. The first Muslim Baronet, Sir Currimbhoy Ibrahim, and the first Muslim Mayor of the city of Bombay, were Khojas, and in 1942, another, a Cutchi-Khoja, Mr. Yusuf Jaffar Meherally, was elected to the same office. Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, long a leading member of the Bombay Bar, later the vigorous President of the Muslim League and the first Governor General of the Dominion of Pakistan, is also from this community. Indeed an honour roll of many names might be added, men of whom any community might be proud, whose services and munificence have enriched members of all communities.

Co-operative Enterprises

Co-operative effort which has been encouraged by the Agha Khan for many years has borne fruit in a variety of enterprises that contribute to the strength and prosperity of the Khoja

[1] Dumasia, N., The Agha Khan and His Ancestors, p. 363.
[2] Ismaili, Special " Birthday " Number, XIX, Jan. 19, 1942.
[3] Bom. Gaz., p. 39.

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community. The following list indicates the variety of projects that have been organized. Not all are large ; but all may grow.

(1) The Ismaili Cooperative Bank, Ltd. Organized about 1930.
(2) Jubilee Insurance Co. of Mombasa. Established after the Golden Jubilee. Now has a branch in Bombay also.
(3) The All India Ismaili Helping Society, which conducted domestic science classes and has recently become a Domestic Science School.
(4) " Masalawala and other cooperative credit societies " to promote business enterprise.
(5) The Ismaili Cooperative Housing Society which is planning for an Ismaili colony at Dadar, Bombay.
(6) A Committee to assist in emigration from Kathiawar.
(7) Fidai Boarding and Orphanage for Girls.
(8) H.H. the Agha Khan's Health Centre.

In both India and Africa the funds collected for the Diamond Jubilee, 1946, less the expenses of the celebration, were invested in Diamond Jubilee Trusts. At Dar es Salaam the Agha Khan stressed the importance of Co-operative Societies, Corporations and Building Societies to be financed in part from these Trusts. More particularly he names measures for promoting the health of the community, through travelling doctors, mobile pharmacies and a " Reasonable proportion of dentists " as greatly needed.[1] An increasing awareness of needs together with the spirit to meet them, lends assurance that much more will be done in multiplying community-building activities.

Increasingly the importance of religious education is being realized. The Ismailia Association in Bombay has recently introduced religious instruction in Urdu as well as in Gujarati and Sindi.

There is a " Mission Department " which is presumably responsible for the missionary work of the sect. Mr. Mow writes of the propaganda as he has seen it :

> Following in some respects the methods of the Christian missionary. It seems that most of the accessions are from the depressed classes, though they themselves do not say so. They have proved themselves wide-awake and resourceful, using any type of argument that comes handy. They find especially useful the ammunition of those arch-preachers and tractarians—the Ahmadiyas.[2]

[1] Ismaili, Feb. 23, 1947 ; p. 7 ; March 2, 1947, p. 7.
[2] Mow, B. M., How Islam Came to Gujarat, N & N, Dec. 1929.

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THE KHOJA COMMUNITY TO-DAY

Boy Scouts

Boy Scout organizations have been encouraged. They are given a prominent place at ceremonial occasions of the community. A group of Scouts at Hasanabad took great interest in showing their rooms where were games and a large variety of musical instruments including a piano and an organ. There was also equipment for handwork. The boys were proud of silver cups that had been won in contests, and which were on display. They spoke with evident pride of "our Agha Khan" and assured us that they knew the names of all the Imams of whom the "present Agha Khan is the 48th, Prince Valiahad will be the 49th and young Agha Karim the 50th."

Emphasis is also placed on the training of girls in Girl Guide patrols.

Women

Of Ismā'īlī women we read that "they have long discarded purdah," and one feels that it was with pride that the editor of *Ismaili* added they "are more advanced in every respect than the women of other Muslim communities in India." At the time that we visited the middle school at Dongri which admitted small boys but was really a girls' school, we were pleased to note the complete absence of any purdah barriers. We were told that it was the plan to make the school co-educational in all classes.

The *Ismaili* in both its current as well as in the annual birthday numbers occasionally has articles written by women, and frequently subjects of especial interest to women are included. The first Khoja lady to pass the B.Sc. examination did so in 1945.

Khoja Law

On the theory that the literature of the Fatimid period preceding the division of the Ismailis into Nizarians and Mustalians is the heritage of both groups, we might expect that the *Da'āim al Islam* which as we have seen is applicable to the Bohras, would also apply to the Khojas. But this is not true. The Khoja community has been "caught within the meshes of Hindu law," and to such an extent has "Customary Law" become applicable to the community, that their legal position to-day "is as baffling to

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the law courts as it is to the Legislature."[1] We have already seen how in 1847, the Agha Khan opposed the applicability of Hindu law to Khojas but his position then was not strong enough to free the community from the long recognized custom that " females are not entitled to any share of their father's property at his decease." The anomalous legal position of the community led, thirty years later, to the appointment of a commission to ascertain the trend of opinion in the community with a view to reducing Khoja law to a system. In 1878 a Bill was drafted to this end but Khoja opinion was so divided that it was dropped.[2] Nor has it been possible since then to accomplish this end.

As in inheritance, so in making a will Hindu law prevails. Under Muslim law an individual cannot dispose of more than one-third of his property by will ; but a Khoja under " customary law " may dispose of all of his property by will. In accordance with this custom, in 1930, a suit against His Highness the Agha Khan to set aside a will which provided a bequest of " nearly seven lakhs' worth of property to the Agha Khan, and only a small property " to sisters of the widow and some distant relatives was dismissed.[3] On this occasion the influence of the Agha Khan was against Muslim law, and in favour of " custom " which was Hindu practice.

An instance in which neither Hindu law nor Muslim prevails, a modified Khoja practice, is the case of a widow who dies intestate and without issue. Her property acquired from her husband would pass to his blood relatives. If there are no blood relatives " the property belongs to the *jamat* " which means to the Agha Khan.[4] It is a purely academic question to inquire whether Hindu law was retained by the Khojas after conversion, or whether they abandoned " both religion and law *in toto* " and later reverted to Hindu customs and practices, but the former view is probably correct.[5]

Administrative Organization

The Khoja organization has naturally passed through a slow evolution. *Jama'at*, *mukhi*, *kamadia* or *kamaria*, are terms found in the oldest accounts. The Panjebhais are not referred to in

[1] Hamid Ali, Customary and Statutory Law, Is. Cul., XI, p. 355.
[2] Hamid Ali, *op. cit.*, p. 453.
[3] Pioneer, April, 4, 1930 ; Cf. Hamid Ali, *op. cit.*, p. 358.
[4] BHCR, II, 1864/1866, Succession of Khojas, pp. 276 ff.
[5] Hamid Ali, *op. cit.*, p. 451.

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the court cases of 1847 and 1866, but they are referred to in the Northcote Memorial of 1901, and the Gazetteer of the Province of Sind, 1907. Terms like Council, Minister, *wazīr*, Varas, are introduced later, apparently about 1920. The Supreme Council is much more recent, as probably the Central Panjebhai committee

Naoroji Dumasia and Sirdar Iqbal Ali Shah have given us brief accounts of what we may call "government of the Khojas." From publications of the Reformers' Society further information is gleaned, but information from this source may easily mislead. Mujtaba Ali's *The Origin of the Khojas* is helpful with some information, and finally, editorials, reports and incidental references in the periodicals of the community yield information on organization. Very naturally organization varies somewhat according to the place, but in general it includes :

1. The Agha Khan. In all affairs that are distinctly religious he is in "supreme and absolute control."[1] By his power of appointment that control is extended in some degree to other fields.
2. The Supreme Council for India.
3. The Central Panjebhai Committee.
4. The Recreation Club.
5. A Central Treasurer or Chief Mukhi.

These distinctive organizations are centred in Bombay "from which flows the life-blood which gives impulse and direction to the community's efforts throughout India."[2] In Bombay and elsewhere, care for local interests is entrusted to

6. Ismaili Councils or Provincial Councils.
7. Separate jamaats with their Mukhis (treasurers) and Kamadias (accountants).
8. Local Panjebhai Committees.

When the Agha Khan is in Bombay he holds an audience for all comers on Saturdays ; and in Bombay, or elsewhere, he holds a levee on every full-moon day as well as on certain festival days, so that "Khojas who may be near may commune with him."[3] Besides these occasions there are assemblies of Khojas when he addresses his followers on special religious subjects. Similar gatherings known as darbars were held during the time of the first Agha Khan which were open to all the members of the Khoja community, so that they might "have the honour of

[1] Iqbal Ali Shah, The Prince Aga Khan, p. 223 ; Dumasia, N., A Brief History of the Aga Khan, p. 161.
[2] Ismaili, Coordination of Jamat Activities, Oct. 18, 1942, pp. 3/4.
[3] Iqbal Ali Shah, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

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kissing his hand."[1] Attendance on these now seems to be limited to members of the Mota Kamno Panjibhai.

The Supreme Council for India has responsibility for matters " concerning the public and religious interests of the followers of Maulana Hazar Imam." It serves as a court of appeal, or to review the decisions of the Councils. It is presided over by the Chief Wazir.[2]

The Central Panjebhai Committee is under the leadership of the *Mukhi* and *Kamadia* of the chief *Jama'at Khana*.[2]

The *Recreation Club* " controls the Mission Department " and also has a library. Councils throughout India maintain contact with Bombay through this organization.[2]

The *Chief Mukhi* serves as the treasurer of all the funds of the Khojas in other areas also, thus acting virtually as the Treasurer of the Agha Khan, and disburses for him such amounts as he contributes to charity or other causes.

Ismaili Councils serve to co-ordinate the interests of Khojas in a city where there are several jamaats. The need for such a body was early apparent in order to secure effective and uniform action. In 1866 Judge Arnould said that excommunication was " in form the act of the whole jamat assembled " though " never in fact resorted to without the concurrence " of the Imam.[3] By 1901 we read that while this was still the theory " those important matters " were then done by the *Mukhi* and the *Kamadia* in conjunction with the Panjebhais " by whom the whole management of the Jamait is monopolised and usurped."[4] A better method had already started, or soon did, for Dumasia writing in 1903 says that these two officers

> with the assistance of the best known amongst the influential poor and a certain number of the wealthy members of the community settle all disputes on social customs and the questions of divorce by the decision of the majority.[5]

This group would seem to be the forerunner of the present Ismaili Councils which function in centres where the Khoja community is large and divided into several jamaats. As early as 1866 the interest of both the members of the *jama'at* and the Imam in the election of the *Mukhi* and the *Kamadia* was recognized to the extent that it was the custom in all Khoja jamaats to consult

[1] Mujtaba Ali, The Origin of the Khojas, p. 102, n. 64.
[2] Ismaili, Coordination of Jamat Activities, Oct. 18, 1942.
[3] BHCR, (12) 1866, p. 352.
[4] Goolamali, K., An Appeal, p. 63.
[5] Dumasia, N., A Brief History of the Aga Khan, p. 161.

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the Imam before any election.[1] If I was rightly informed in Bombay the Council now nominates four from among whom the Agha Khan appoints. In remote groups the *jama'at* elects subject to the approval of the Agha Khan or his representative.

Provincial Councils function in localities like Kathiwar, called by Dumasia " the province of Kathiwar,"[2] where the local jamaats are scattered among tenant farmers. The ' province ' is broken up into sub-divisions following in some cases the boundaries of the small States. In this set-up there is a *Kull-Kamadia*, or head treasurer, usually one of the treasurers of a State. He appoints the treasurers for divisions under him, receives their remittances and forwards them each month to the chief treasurer in Bombay. Each ' province ' also has a chief minister, and under him a minister in a sub-division. The chief minister hears appeals.[3] Before the introduction of Councils, Cutch was entrusted to the supervision of one man. It now has a plan similar to that described for Kathiwar. This was true also for Sind. Dumasia does not give the titles by which the minister of the Province or a sub-division were known. References in the *Nizari* lead to the conjecture that the Chief Minister was called a "Vazir" and his province the " vizarat," and the treasurer of a district or sub-division a " Varas."

Both the Ismaili Councils and the Provincial Councils have representatives from the Jamaats appointed to them. Some of these are called amaldars, though it is not clear whether the name is for a minor office, or a minor title. Some have the title *Alijah*, which appears to be an honorary title given by the Agha Khan.

The duties of the Councils are : (1) to settle questions relating to social customs, matrimonial disputes and divorce,[4] etc. ; (2) to raise funds and to deal with matters of discipline. Rather detailed rules for its guidance are provided, governing such matters as the dues that Khojas should pay ; the relations of Khojas who are in good standing with those who have seceded ; the giving to such seceders of presents, attending marriages, funerals, or even eating with them at feasts. We cannot be sure that rules in all Councils are the same, but Rule 142 (Karachi) reads :

> The Council, or any member of the Council, is authorised to lodge an oral complaint in the council in connection with an Isma'ili *murid* taking part in any feast, marriage or mourning

[1] BHCR, p. 361.
[2] Dumasia, *op. cit.*, pp. 161 ff.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] For divorce, see Hamid Ali, *op. cit.*, p. 358.

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of seceders. If he is found guilty he can even be excommunicated from the Jamait.[1]

(3) a third duty is to have advisory and supervisory responsibility over all community enterprises. In 1943 the *Ismaili*, commenting on a proposal to found a Girls' Orphanage, congratulated the enthusiastic donors and the committee in charge, but added this important advice:

> We would like to impress on the sponsors the necessity of seeking the cooperation of the Ismailia Council and other public citizens in fostering this very laudable cause. This is the immemorial custom of our community and religion. Since all donations are dedicated to Maulana Hazar Imam, the ownership of all institutions is vested in him by virtue of his being our Hazar Imam, although by his grace and direction the management of these institutions is carried out according to His Highness's wishes, and these always allow full freedom of action to the management.[2]

Amendments to the rules of a Council can be made only with the consent of the Agha Khan, but the Council may suggest amendments for his approval. Vacancies to the Council are filled by the Agha Khan, as its members are also appointed by him.[3]

The organization in Africa follows the pattern that we have described for India. It was brought to a test in the Supreme Court of Zanzibar in 1943. The case arose among Ismā'īlī Khojas who submitted their matrimonial differences to the Ismaili Council. An appeal went from that decision to the Supreme Council for Africa " which varied the decision of the Provincial Council." Another appeal was carried to the Agha Khan, " who varied the decision of the Supreme Council." The Supreme Court of Zanzibar dismissed the case with costs to the defendant, holding that it was much better for the community to settle its own differences than to " ventilate their quarrels in the public arena of a court of law."[4]

Mota Kamno Panjebhai

This organization includes those who have been initiated into the several degrees of the sect. So far as available information goes, these degrees have no relation to the degrees reputed to

[1] Goolamali, *op. cit.*, pp. 98/99.
[2] Ismailia, Aug. 8, 1943, p. 4.
[3] Goolamali, *op. cit.*, p. 91.
[4] Ismaili, Nov. 21, 1943, pp. 2, 4.

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have existed among early Ismailis in that no esoteric teaching is given ; one or more stages may be omitted without apparent loss to the individual, and the degrees which are five in number are open to all Khojas, men, woman *and children*, who fulfill the conditions, which are as follows :[1]

First. An initiation fee of Rs. 75 /– and a monthly fee of Rs. 3 /– or 4 /– thereafter. The member of this degree personally visits the Agha Khan who blesses him and gives him a *Du'a*, or prayer, and a certificate of his standing and rights. He is entitled to attend meetings of this degree, which may also be attended by all members of the higher degrees. He repeats his prayer there, and shares in all proceedings.

Second. An initiation fee of Rs. 500 /– with monthly dues of Rs. 5 /– or 6 /–. One who was a member of the first degree will only pay Rs. 425 /–. By paying Rs. 500 /– the first degree may be omitted. The procedure in this and higher degrees is like that in the first degree but members receive duas and certificates of higher orders.

Third. The initiation fee is Rs. 1,200 /– for new initiates ; monthly dues Rs. 10 /–.

Fourth. The initiation fee is Rs. 2,500 /– for new initiates ; monthly dues are Rs. 10 /–.

Fifth. The initiation fee is Rs. 5,000 /– for new initiates ; monthly fees the same as above.

The last two degrees were added much later than the others,[2] The name of the organization Mota Kamno Panjebhai, means the Great Works Association. About half of the Bombay Khojas are said to be members of the first degree. In the *Open Letter* we read that

> Thousands of our simple brethren from the infant at the mother's breast, to the aged veteran, both the living as well as the dead, have been and are still being initiated into the above grades.[3]

Each degree is known as a Great Work ; " five years great work " being the degree costing Rs. 500 /– ; " twelve years great work " being that costing Rs. 1200 /–, and so forth.

Rule 17 for the Karachi Council (we cannot be sure that the Constitution of all Councils is just alike) makes possible the payment " at the time of the performance of the death ceremony "

[1] Mujtaba Ali, *op. cit.*, p. 61.
[2] Goolamali, *op. cit.*, pp. 95/96.
[3] *Ibid.*

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by "any Ismaili murid" for the Great Work, the five years' Great Work, and the twelve years' Great Work on behalf of a deceased Khoja, or the payment of "any other sum to be placed before H.H. Maulana Hazar Imam" for blessings on the soul of the departed.[1] This seems to be a well developed system of indulgences.

Besides these degrees, or perhaps within them, there are other organizations known as "Panjebhais," "New Moon Associations" and "Vigils", with their own officers.[2] The Panjebhais include the most orthodox of the Khojas. They are an association, or brotherhood united by the symbol of the open hand. They are divided into groups which assemble "by circular invitations" on designated days of the week, from which they are named. The 'Sukarwadias' meet on Fridays; the 'Saniwadias' on Saturdays. Groups range in number from fifty to three hundred and have their own officers, also called *Mukhi* and *Kamadia*. The largest group is that of the 'Saturday walas' and it is also the most powerful. The duty of the Panjebhais is to promote anything that will enhance the interests of their Murshid, the Imam, and to suppress any acts antagonistic to those interests. Some of the Panjebhai have been likened to the Fidais of Alamut "who have offered their own 'self' to their Murshid."[3]

Corresponding to this organization of men, there is an organization of women called the Mota Panth, or Great Religion, which was under the guidance of the mother of the Agha Khan while she lived. Its officers are known as *Mukhiani* and *Kamadiani*. Entrance to this society is through a ceremony called "*Kangua*" and admission fees range from Rs. 250/– to Rs. 1000/–. Its members number about five hundred and have the same zeal and fervour for their Imam as do those of the brother organization. Through its membership, the organization reaches into many homes through servants and members of the household, so that the writers of the memorial to the Governor of Bombay apprehended "danger through the women of their own houses."[4]

Reference has been made to excommunication from the community. Such an excommunicated person may be reinstated on payment of heavy fines, or by "certain penances," either by the authorities who expelled him, or by the Agha Khan himself.

To win the way back from the dark depths of excommunication

[1] *Ibid.*
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 95.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 70/71.
[4] *Ibid.*

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is, however, a painful process, and an expensive one, and few are able to place themselves in the unhappy position where such a dread order would apply.[1]

Literature

The Khojas do not regard their religious books with such secrecy as do the Bohras. Some of them are available at the book-shops to anybody.

> But they are strongly protected from the curiosity of outsiders by the difficulty of the language and the fact that only a very few Muhammadans, other than the Khojas themselves, or the Bohras, are familiar with the Gujarati characters.[2]

Ismailis in Persia and in Central Asia are much more secretive with their literature. The Badakhshanis read their most sacred book, *Ummu'l Kitab*, only at night, in a secluded place and with not more than two together at a time!

Properly speaking, the Nizaris are heirs of all of the Ismā'īlī literature written before the time of their dividing from the Mustalians. But they do not depend much upon it, especially among the Khojas in India. Here the two most important books of a religious nature are the *Das Avatar* and *Pandyād i Jawān Mardi*. Next after these come the Ginans.[3] The name *Sat Panth*, or *True Path*, was used originally for the preaching by Nizārī missionaries. Since the split off of the Imam Shahis, it has been more often used for them. The Khoja literature includes a number of religious works which are also accepted by the Imam Shahis, works written by Pirs from Shams al dīn to Nūr Muḥammad Shāh. These include hymns, books on God, on creation, eschatology, morals, miracle stories and stories of the avatars, as well as an account of the Fatimid Imams and some rituals.[4] There are several biographies and histories of the Imams or histories of Ismailism, some of which have been written by non-Ismailis.[5]

The Khojas have some periodicals, as for instance:

1. *The Ismaili*, a weekly in Gujarati, with a few pages in English It " is the official organ of the community."
2. *Fidai*, a quarterly in Gujarati.
3. *Yuvak Bal*, a bi-weekly in Gujarati.

[1] Iqbal Ali Shah, *op. cit.*, p. 228.
[2] Ivanow, Guide, p. 26.
[3] For important titles, see Guide, p. 4.
[4] Ivanow, Sect of Imam Shah, JBBRAS, XII, pp. 20/22.
[5] Guide, Nos. 677, 679, 680.

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4. *Nizari*, a monthly, of a religious nature, in Gujarati.
5. *Yuvan*, a monthly in Gujarati.

These five are all published in Bombay.

6. *Ismaili Aftab*, bi-weekly, published in Kathiwar.

Holidays

The following days are observed by Khojas as holidays.

Muḥarram	1–10	Especially the 9th and 'Ashūra, the 10th.
Safar	21	*Chihlam*. Forty days after Muḥarram.
	29	*Qatli*. The anniversary of Ḥasan's death.
Rabi' I	17	*'Id i maulūd*. Ḥusain's birthday.
Ramaḍān	21	*Qatl*. Anniversary of the death of 'Ali.
	23	*Lailat al Qadr*. The night when destinies are fixed for the following year.
Shawwal	1	*'Id al Fitr*.
Dhu'l Jigga	10	*'Id al Aḍha*, or *'Id al Ḍuha*.
	18	*'Id i Ghadīr*.
March	21	*Nauroz*. New Year.
—	—	*Shah's 'Id*.
—	—	Birthday of the Agha Khan.

F. L. Faridi speaks of *'Id al Fiṭr* and *'Id al Aḍha* as the " two holidays which they enjoy jointly with the other Musalmans."[1] While the same feasts are kept, Khojas do not usually go with others to the mosque. In Bombay the Khojas gather in their own jamaat khanas in holiday attire. Prayers are led by a veteran Sayyid, a sermon is preached by a leading Khoja missionary, and the gathering disperses after an exchange of felicitations.[2]

There is doubt as to how far Shah's 'Id is still observed. At the close of the last century, Faridi, Menant, and others, spoke of it as something then recognized.[3] Mujtaba Ali says that *'Id i Ghadīr* celebrations are also falling off.[4]

The *Nauroz*, or New Year's festival, is observed according to the Parsi calendar. On this day the Khojas bring a large quantity of fruits and vegetables to the *jama'at khana* and they are auctioned. The first auction brings very high prices, often several times the value of the things sold, but the bidders do not get the things they have bid for successfully. Such merit as pertains to

[1] Faridi, F. L., Bom. Gaz., p. 50; Mujtaba Ali, *op. cit.*, p. 77.
[2] Ismaili, Oct. 18, 1942, and Dec. 27, 1942.
[3] Bom. Gaz., p. 41; Menant, D., Les Khodjas du Guzerate, RMM, Vol. XII.
[4] Mujtaba Ali, *op. cit.*, p. 109, n. 65.

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their success accrues to their dead relatives. The income of the auction goes to the Agha Khan. Following this auction, a second auction is held and the successful bidders get the articles they bid in, and again the income is credited to the Agha Khan. The first auction is called " Thar Sufro," the second, " Nandi." Because of the merit that is involved a sum as large as Rs. 20,000 may be realized from the sales of one day.[1]

This same day is observed as New Year's by the *Ithnā 'Asharīya* Khojas.[2]

To list the Muḥarram days as holidays, even the last two, may be misleading, for they are not observed as by the *Ithnā 'Asharīya*. The official position appears to be that there is no necessity for the community to mourn as do others since the Imam embodied in himself the soul of 'Ali, Ḥasan and Ḥusain. The first Agha Khan used to attend the *jama'at Khāna* for the recitation of the day-to-day events of Muḥarram, and so did the second Agha Khan. By way of concession *majālis* for the recital of the story of Ḥusain are still continued in the *jama'at khāna*, but the present Agha Khan never attends, nor do many of his most strict followers, even though the *Das Avatar* and other Khoja books are also read.[3] A paragraph in the *Ismaili* in 1944 stressed the significance of Muḥarram as a period for introspection that one might realize the example of Ḥusain's life, and its incentive to hold to the path of duty.[4]

But this official view does not satisfy a large number of Khojas. They desire a fuller celebration like the *Ithnā 'Asharīya* have. At Husainabad, therefore, where are descendants of Khojas who came over with the first Agha Khan, Agā Ḥasan 'Alī, there is still held a passion play depicting the experiences of Ḥusain at Kerbala. Many Khojas go there. Others, either individually or collectively, have their own celebrations, sometimes at considerable expense, and apparently some of them have been given permission for doing so. The most persistent group of " reformers " organized associations called " mahfils," like clubs, for arranging such *majālis* without permission. The practice led to conflicts.[5]

One of the chief points of difference in the clashes that rent the community in Sind in the middle of the last century was the practice of making tabuts at Muḥarram, which had become rather

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 75.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 109, n. 66.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 75.
[4] Ismaili, Dec. 24, 1944, p. 4.
[5] Goolamali, *op. cit.*, pp. 70/71.

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general. Some of these people appealed to the Agha Khan for permission to continue, but his decision was against the practice. A minority refused to obey and became known as Pirai, the ordinary name for the yard in which the tabuts were set up. Their opponents were known as Panjebhai. In time there was a complete schism and the Pirais were excommunicated. Outside of Karachi they still continue as a sect. Their creed is similar to that of the *Ithnā 'Asharīya*, though they retain a number of Hindu customs connected with marriage, births and deaths. They have no mosques but meet in a building called a *mumbar*. They sometimes intermarry with the Panjebhais.[1]

Khoja Customs

We have already seen how in marriage and in other matters of law, the Khojas are bound by Hindu practices. Embedded within their religious customs we find the same thing. Like vestigial organs in the body, these continue as weak spots in the community. Many Khoja women, as many other Muslim women, continue to consult the Brahmin priests in regard to omens, and some still worship Hindu gods. There is a ceremony observed on the sixth day after the birth of a child, known as *chatti*,which indicates strong Hindu influence.[2] Another survival of Hindu custom is the practice of " marriage by purchase."[3]

The *Samarchhanta*, or holy drop, is a ceremony considered by some as unique among the Khojas, though Mujtaba Ali says it is widely practiced among Muslims.

> The Jama'at officer or the Mukhi asks the dying Khoja if he wishes the sacred drop *samarchhanta*. If the dying person agrees he or she bequeaths Rs. 5 to 500 or any larger amount to the Khojah Jama'at. A Sindhi knowing Khojah is then called in to read the book of the Ten Incarnations *Das Avatar*. A Jama'at officer then dilutes a cake of Karbala clay in water, and to save the departing soul from the temptation of the Archfiend who is believed to be present offering a cup of false nectar, moistens the lips and sprinkles the rest of the water on the face, the neck and the chest of the dying Khojah. The touch of the holy drop is believed to relieve the death agony as completely as among the Sunnis does the recital at

[1] Aitken, E. H., Gazatteer of Prov. of Sind, 1907, pp. 161/176.
[2] Mujtaba Ali, *op. cit.*, pp. 73/74 ; Bom. Gaz., pp. 44/45.
[3] Bom. Gaz., p. 45.

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the death-bed of the chapter of the Kuraan known as the Surah-i-Ya-Sin.

If the dead is old and greyhaired the hair after death is dyed with henna. A garland of cakes of Karbala clay is tied round the neck of the corpse. If the body is to be buried locally two small circular patches of silk cloth cut from the covering of Husain's tomb, called *chashmas* or spectacles, are laid over the eyes.[1]

If the body is to be taken to Najaf or Kerbala for burial, it is embalmed and " the services of a Shiah Mullah are engaged at Rs. 5 to Rs. 50 to keep on reading the Kuraan " as long as it lies in the mosque. Burial in these places used to be frequent, but with the Imam now living in India the practice has been largely discontinued.

The Future of the Khoja Community

It is a little more than a hundred years since the first Agha Khan moved to India. For almost five years he was engaged in military campaigns in Sind, and with plans and hopes for re-establishing himself in Persia. This century has been one of real progress for the Ismā'īlī Khoja community. The celebration of the Diamond Jubilee of Maulana Hazar Imam H.H. the Right Honourable Sir Sultan Muhammad Shah Agha Khan augurs well for the continued advance of this important community in India. At this Jubilee the community looks back over sixty years with rejoicing ; it looks forward with confidence. Perhaps never have the Khojas been so community-conscious as now, and never have the means for new advances been so available.

In this the Khojas are well ahead of their sister community, the Bohras. For nearly five hundred years both groups recognized the same Imams. The Bohras, believing in a concealed Imam, revere a deputy who seems content with continuing the *status quo ante*. They lack leadership and freedom to make adjustments, and are divided. The Khojas owe allegiance to a present Imam, whose leadership rings with authority, and the spirit of the people is forward-looking.

" Educate, educate, educate your children," was the stirring advice of the Agha Khan in his address on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee celebration in Bombay.[2] There is still need for that advice, not only " higher education " but a full education

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 46.
[2] Dumasia, N., The Aga Khan and His Ancestors, p. 287.

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for children in all the scattered groups. The progress of past years is but an encouragement to do much more. One gets an impression—perhaps growing out of only partial information—that Bombay and a few urban centres have chiefly profited in the advance of recent years. That is a natural result for the needs of compact communities are always more easily met than those of scattered groups. The Diamond Jubilee funds are reported to be marked for loans to small farmers and for scholarships. Such a use may help to redress the balance.

It is both right and imporant for a community to stress the strengthening of its own lines. No one else can do it for them, although others may help. "Buy Isma'ili," "Employ Ismailis" are at best temporary expedients. Just as no individual can live to himself, so no community can be adequate to its needs, or attain to its best without lifting other groups too. Nowhere do the words of Wendell Willkie, "One World," find truer application than in relation to social or community progress. No community can long keep rising unless it shows its concern for those more backward.

Prince Aly Khan has urged Ismailis to "carry in their heart 'the true meaning of the Fidai.'"[1] The term is reminiscent of Ismā'īlī history in a period when Ismailism was feared and its followers shunned. But Fidā'ī may come to connote, as the Valiahad suggests, qualities of heart and soul without which no community can grow; humility of spirit, enterprise in action, promptness of deed and word with firmness for truth and honour. The Fidā'ī

> works not only for himself but for the community as a whole. His life is one of dedication. For the glory of the faith and the fountainhead of all inspiration and knowledge, the Imam, he would immolate SELF and build on its ashes the edifice of COMMUNAL PROGRESS. With him to think is to act, but in a good cause.[1]

"A good cause!" In his addresses and writings the Agha Khan has stood for many good causes. His tolerance, his interest in peace, and education, his recognition of the rights of other communities, his thought for the depressed, and his insistence on seeing the larger whole, are all described by his biographers. If the spirit of the Fidā'ī is linked to such "against which there is no law," the Ismā'īlī community may move forward into increasing influence.

[1] The Ismaili, Dec. 8, 1940, p. 3.

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GLOSSARY OF ISLAMIC TERMS

adhān the Muslim call to prayer.

Ahl al Bait literally the people of the house, i.e., the immediate family of Muḥammad which includes beside the Prophet, 'Ali, Fāṭima, Ḥasan and Ḥusain.

akhbār a term often used for *ḥadith* by Shias.

'alam the standard, or crest of the standard, carried in Muḥarram processions.

'amaldār a minor office, or title, among Khojas.

'amil an office among the Bohras equal to that of *shaikh*.

Amīr al mu'minīn the commander of the faithful.

Asās In Fatimid theology the correlate of the "Universal Soul", and applied to the companion of the Prophet, therefore to 'Ali who is sometimes called *Asas al Imāmat*.

'Ashūra the tenth day of the month Muḥarram.

'Ashūrkhāna see *Imāmbāra*.

avatar an incarnation of the deity.

Bāb door, used for the leading *ḥujjat* through whom the Imam might be reached.

Bāb al Abwāb "door of doors", the chief *Bāb*.

bai'at the covenant entered into with an Imam by every mature Isma'īlī. Among the Bohras it is also called the *ahd al awliya*.

basmala a formula used by Muslims at the commencement of all activities, signifying the longer expression *bismi l-lahi-r-rahmani-r-rahim*, "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate."

bāṭin inner, hidden; the esoteric meaning of the Quran, or of sectarian doctrine.

da'i one who calls; an Isma'īlī missionary.

da'i al mutlaq the highest office among the Mustalian Bohras. He is the personal representative of the Imam.

dassondh a term used by the Khojas for the tithe.

da'wat a term used inclusively for the whole extension programme of Ismailism.

du'a used by the Ismailis instead of *namāz* for prayer.

fatwa see *ijtihād*.

fidai men of the eastern Ismailis who were selected and trained for important and dangerous missions.

Gath Panth a prayer and a sacrament observed by the Khojas.

Ghadīr Khum the 18th of Dhu'l Hijja. Recognised by Shī'a as the anniversary of the designation of 'Ali as the successor to Muḥammad.

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ghulāt extreme sects which often claim divinity for some persons.

ḥadīth a single tradition concerning the practice of the Prophet or his immediate successors.

hajj pilgrimage, as prescribed in Islam.

hijāb veil, a da'i who was designated to represent the Imam for his protection.

hijra Muhammad's flight from Mecca to Medina in 622 A.D. the base-year for the Muslim era indicated by A.H., " after hijra."

hudūd al din the religious orders or hierarchy among Ismailis.

Ḥujjat proof, a high position in the hierarchy of Ismailism.

'Id al Aḍha also called 'Id al ḍuha, or Bakr 'Id. Celebrated on the tenth of Dhu'l Hijja.

'Id al Fiṭr the festival at the close of Ramaḍān.

'Id al qiyām Ramaḍān 17th—the date of the proclamation of Ḥasan *'alā dhikrihi's salām* as the Imam.

ijma' the principle of agreement among Muslems giving legal sanction.

ijtihād a legal decision based on *qiyās*, also called a *fatwa*.

Imām the living representative and successor of the Prophet, and the spiritual guide among Shī'a.

imāmate pertaining to the Imams or the term of office of an Imam.

Imāmbāra a place set apart for the holding of *majālis* for remembering the Imams. Called also *Ashūrkhāna*.

Imāmīya the same as the Twelvers, or *Ithnā 'Asharīya*.

iṣma sinlessness or infallibility.

Ismā'īlīya Shī'a who recognise the line of Imams through Isma'il son of Ja'far al Sadiq, instead of through Musa his fourth son.

isnād the chain of guarantors of a tradition.

istiḥsān a form of *ijtihād* based on an analogy described as " holding for the better."

Ithnā 'Asharīya literally " twelvers ", those Shias who recognise only twelve Imams, the last of whom has been " concealed."

'itrat the progeny of Muḥammad, especially the Imams.

jama'at khāna a place of assembly. Used by Khojas also for the place of worship.

jazīra an island ; in Ismailism a district. (Pl. jazair.)

jihād religious war as prescribed in Islam.

kamādia or kamāria an accountant in the set up of the Khojas.

Kull Kamādia the treasurer of a " Province " or *vizārat*.

Khalīfa One who is recognised by the Sunnis as a successor to the Prophet in secular and religious authority. His reign is called *khilāfat*. (Pl. *khulafā*.)

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GLOSSARY

khāṭib or *khaṭīb* the preacher, or reader of the sermon in congregational prayers.

khila't robe of office or special dress presented as a mark of respect by a ruler.

khuṭba the address or sermon at the time of the congregational prayers on Friday.

madḥ saḥāba praises recited in honour of the first four *khualfā* by the Sunnis.

Madhūn the deputy of the *Da'i al mutlaq* among the Bohras.

mahdawī pertaining to the *Mahdī*, or a follower of a *madhī*.

Mahdī The " guided one ", or divinely guided one. Among the *Ithnā 'Asharīya* the 12th Imam. Used variously among the Shī'a.

mahfil same as *majlis*.

majlis a meeting; particularly a mourning assembly held during Muḥarram or in commemoration of the Imams. (Pl. *majālis*.)

al maktum the concealed; used for early Isma'ili Imams who were concealed for their protection.

malāḥida a generic term used for heretics or sectarians.

Manṣūb the highest office among the Sulaimani Bohras in India.

manṣūṣ one who has received the *naṣṣ* or designation to be an Imam.

marthiya the lamentation or elegy used in Muḥarram *majālis*. (Pl. *marathi*.)

masnad a collection of traditions.

al mastur the same as *al maktum q.v.*

ma'ṣum sinless or infallible.

matn the text of a tradition.

mawālī Muslim converts in conquered lands deprived of rights except as they attached themselves to an Arab tribe as its clients. (Sing. mawla.)

Mawla a term used by Khojas for their Imam.

menhdi the procession during the Muḥarram commemorating the death of Qasim.

mīthāq the ceremony in which the *bai'at* is taken.

Miyān Ṣāḥib a minor office among the Bohras.

mu'adhdhin the one who calls the *adhān* for prayers.

mujtahid one who is competent to pronounce an *ijtihād*.

Mukāsir the assistant to the Madhūn. Used by Bohras.

Mukhi the term used by Khojas for the treasurer of their organizations. The Chief Mukhi is a central treasurer.

mu'min a faithful follower.

mut'a contract, or temporary marriage.

namāz the prescribed prayer in Islam.

naṣṣ the designation that makes one an Imam on the death of his predecessor.

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Naṭiq a speaker, therefore a Prophet who brings a revelation.
Panjibhai an association, or brotherhood among Khojas which includes the most orthodox, whose symbol is the open hand.
qiyās analogy; or deduction by analogy. Used in determining Muslim Law.
ra'i personal judgment, or opinion, as applied to Muslim law.
rak'a the bowing of the head and body in prayer.
rawafiz a term denoting a branch of the Shī'a.
rāwī one who relates, or recites; a narrator or historian. Used for the reciter of the Quran.
roza fast; same as *saum, q.v.*
salāt same as *namāz, q.v.*
Sāmit the silent one; sometimes used in place of *Asās.*
satr a period of concealment of an Imam.
saum the prescribed fast in Islam.
Shaikh an office among the Bohras. (P. masha'ikh.)
sufism the mystical side of Islam whose followers are called Sufis.
Sunna the established "practice of the Prophet and his immediate successors" which has the force of law in Islam.
tabarru' comminations or curses, against the first three *khulafā* whom Shias consider as usurpers of 'Ali's rights.
tabut same as *ta'zia*; used in South India.
tafsīr a commentary.
taqīya dissimulation or the concealing of religious beliefs; an obligation upon all Shias.
taqlīd the authority of a *mujtahid* over his disciples.
taṣawwuf Islamic mysticism, or the principles of Sufism.
ta'wil The interpretation of the esoteric meaning of the Quran.
ta'zia miniatures of the tombs of Hasan or Husain carried in processions or placed in Imambaras.
'ulama the 'learned' doctors of Islam.
Varas among Khojas the treasurer of a district.
Vazīr among the Khojas the chief minister of a "Province".
al walāya love for 'Ali and his successors.
waṣi an executor, applied to 'Ali as the appointed successor to Muḥammad.
wazīr the prime minister.
ẓāhir outer, the apparent meaning of the Quran; or of a sectarian doctrine.
zakāt religious offerings as prescribed; or taxes.
zarīh an imitation of the grave of an Imam or a saint.

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